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The Hakluyt Society.

THE EMBASSY

OF

SIR THOMAS ROE TO INDIA,

1615—1619.

VOL. I.

SECOND SERIES,

No. I.

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THE EMBASSY

OF

SIR THOMAS ROE

TO THE

COURT OF THE GREAT MOGUL,

1615—1619,

AS NARRATED IN HIS JOURNAL AND CORRESPONDENCE.

Edited from Contemporary Records

BY

WILLIAM FOSTER, B.A.,

Editor of "Letters Received by the East India Company, 1615;" Joint Editor of "The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600-1619;" Honorary Secretary of the Hakluyt Society.

Inter eos autem qui relationes suas de hoc Regno prodiderunt, facile fide et dignatione princeps est THOMAS ROEUS, Eques, Magnae Britanniae Regis ad superiorem Indiae Regem Legatus.

DE LAET: *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, 1631.

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TO

SIR GEORGE C. M. BIRDWOOD,

M.D., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D.,

THIS ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE

THE WORK INAUGURATED BY HIM

OF MAKING BETTER KNOWN

THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH INDIA

IS DEDICATED

WITH THE WARMEST SENTIMENTS

OF RESPECT AND REGARD.

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PREFACE.

THE mission of Sir Thomas Roe to the court of Jahángír was not only a remarkable episode in the life of a remarkable man, but an event of high importance in the history both of England and of India; for the footing which was then obtained, largely through his energy and wisdom, by the despised traders from the West, proved to be but the first step in a march of conquest which has only of late years reached its limits, and the scarlet liveries which escorted the ambassador through Rájputána were prophetic of a time when a descendant of King James should rule over an Indian empire vaster and infinitely more prosperous than ever owned the sway of a Mogul.

Considerations of this nature would not, it is true, entitle an account of the embassy to a place among the publications of the Hakluyt Society. But it happens that the ambassador kept, for the information of his employers, a minute and careful record of the events of his mission, besides writing from time to time full accounts of his proceedings to his many friends in England; and, being in a land so little known to his fellow-countrymen, his diary and letters are naturally full not only of what he did but also of what he saw. His position afforded him excellent opportunities for observation, while a natural gift for literary expression imparted a vividness to his descriptions which is often lacking in the writings of other travellers of the period. The result is a picture of the India of the early seventeenth century which is of exceptional value and interest; and on this ground the Council of the Society have judged his journal suitable for inclusion in their series.

As explained at greater length in the Introduction, the

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present edition is based chiefly upon Roe's own copy of his journal (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115), which has been printed for the first time at full length. Unfortunately this record is not complete, and for the third year of the embassy we are dependent upon the extracts given in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, while of the fourth and concluding year we have only the particulars to be gleaned from the correspondence of the time. Roe's narrative has been supplemented by about fifty of his letters and other documents bearing on the mission, very few of which have been published before; and the whole has been illustrated in the notes by extracts from other contemporary records, especially from the account published by the ambassador's chaplain, the Rev. Edward Terry.

The editor's sincere thanks are due to the authorities at the India Office, British Museum, and Public Record Office, for the manner in which his examination of the documents in their archives has been facilitated. He has also been indebted to Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., Mr. C. H. Tawney, C.I.E., Professor Denison Ross, Ph.D., Dr. James Burgess, C.I.E., and Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, for friendly assistance and advice; to Mr. Alexander Rogers, late of the Bombay Council, for permission to consult and make use of his manuscript translation of the *Túzak-i-Jahángíri*, now the property of the Royal Asiatic Society; and to several other gentlemen whose assistance in connexion with specific points has been acknowledged in the course of the work.

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INTRODUCTION.

"Toward the end of this present yeere 1614, viz. in the beginning of January, his maiesty, at the request of the East India company, sent Sir Thomas Roe, knight, Ambassadour to the great Maghoore, whome some corruptly call Mogall . . . . vnto whome this Ambassadour had commission to make and contract a league between his Maiesty and his Subiects for commerce and Traffique in his Dominions, and to procure and establish a factory for our nation in sundry parts of his Dominions, as well Seaports as Inland Townes, with other instructions yet vndiscouered. Hee is the first that euer was imployed in this hie Nature to any of those so farre remote easterne princes."—*Stow's Annals, continued by Edmond Howes* (London, 1615), p. 945.

THE early attempts of the English to establish themselves in India have been to some extent narrated in two previous volumes of the Society's series. In *The Hawkins' Voyages*, edited by Sir Clements Markham in 1878, will be found an account of the arrival of the first English ship at Surat, in August, 1608: the journey to Agra of it's captain, William Hawkins, to present a commendatory letter from King James, and to solicit trading privileges: his encouraging reception by the Great Mogul: and the consequent alarm and intrigues of the Portuguese representatives, resulting in the virtual dismissal of Hawkins in November, 1611. The narrative is continued in the extracts from the India Office Records given in *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (1877). From these we learn the arrival at Surat, in September, 1611, of the

ships of the Sixth Voyage under Sir Henry Middleton: the indecision and double-dealing of the local authorities, culminating in an absolute refusal of trade: Middleton's consequent departure (after embarking Hawkins and his companions), and his retaliation upon the Surat traders in the Red Sea: the coming (September, 1612) of Thomas Best with a fresh fleet, all unaware of the difficulties with his predecessor: his favourable reception, due, it would seem, to the terror inspired by Middleton's proceedings: the conclusion of a trading agreement with the local officials, confirmed in general terms by a *farmán* from the Court: the repulse of an attack made upon the English by a Portuguese fleet from Goa: and finally Best's departure for Achin (January, 1613), leaving Thomas Aldworth to take charge of the factory at Surat, and Paul Canning to go up to Agra, carrying fresh letters and presents for the Great Mogul.

Thus far, as we have said, the reader is already acquainted with the course of events; and little more was known to the East India Company itself in June, 1614, when Best, upon his return, related in detail his proceedings. His glowing report of the prospects of the trade, and of the privileges he had obtained, confirmed the Company in its resolution to push matters vigorously in this direction. Already, in the preceding February, a fleet of four ships had been despatched to Surat under the experienced leadership of Nicholas Downton; and it was now determined to prepare a fresh expedition to be set forth by Christmastide. William Keeling, who had taken part in the First Voyage, and had commanded the Third, was placed in charge of the new fleet, with the *Dragon* as his flagship; to Christopher Newport, of Virginia fame, the successful leader of the Twelfth Voyage, was assigned the *Lion*; Walter Peyton, who had been master of Newport's ship in the same voyage, was

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promoted to the charge of the *Expedition ;* and Christopher Harris was appointed to command the *Peppercorn.*

The fleet was the finest and best-equipped that had yet been sent out by the Company; it had a leader who was second to none in all the qualifications for command, and who was, moreover, invested with powers such as had never been conferred on any of his predecessors. But it was to enjoy a still greater distinction; for it was to carry out to India an ambassador from King James himself. On September 7, when the preparations for the despatch of the fleet were in full swing, the Governor of the Company, Sir Thomas Smythe, brought forward a proposal which had probably been debated for some time in private by the principal members of the Court, viz., the advisability of sending "one of extraordinarye partes to reside att Agra to preuent any plottes that may be wrought by the Iesuites to circumvent our trade" and to obtain such a confirmation of trading privileges as would place the English commerce on a firm and enduring basis. One of the articles of Best's agreement stipulated that an English representative should be allowed to reside at the Mogul Court, and the experience of the last few years had completely demonstrated the desirability that this representative should be someone of standing sent expressly from England. In November, 1613, Aldworth, writing from Ahmadábád, had expressed a hope that "their might a suffitient man be sent in your first shippes that may bee Resident in Agra withe the Kinge, and sutch a one whose person may breade regarde, for they here looke mutch after greate men;" while another factor, William Biddulph, wrote from Surat to the same effect.[1]

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[1] I. O. Records : *O. C.*, Nos. 116,117. Neither of these letters had reached the Court at this date; but a letter from Aldworth to Best at Achin had been communicated to them, and doubtless it was of the same tenour. Of course, too, Best was aware of the general feeling among the factors on this subject.

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The Governor was evidently in favour of the adoption of such a course; but when the matter came to be debated, considerable opposition was manifested. Some doubted the advisability of taking such a step until the results of Downton's expedition were known; others considered that "a meere merchaunt" (such had, in fact, been sent out in that fleet in the person of William Edwards) would be quite sufficient and less expensive; others again hinted a fear that his Majesty, who must necessarily be consulted if a royal ambassador were sent, would "putt vpon them" some courtier who would contemn their authority and deal with their men and goods at his pleasure. The question was anxiously debated at several meetings before a resolution was arrived at. At last, however (on October 7, 1614), "the former reasons were againe reiterated and amplyfied, and all inconvenyences and obiections fullie considered and argued," and the despatch of "an Embassadour of extraordinarye Countenance and respect . . . . was resolued of by erection of hanndes as most necessary." The next question—who should be chosen for the post—gave rise to another prolonged discussion. Sir John Brooke was proposed, but rejected on the ground of his weak health. "One Master Bailie" was next considered, and passed by. In the end "none were esteemed soe fittinge for that seruice as Sir Thomas Roe, yf hee may bee had;" and the Governor, whose nominee he seems to have been, was requested to treat with him as to the terms on which he would accept employment.

A happier choice could not have been made. Roe was in the prime of life, "of a pregnant vnderstandinge, well spoken, learned, industrious, and of a comelie personage" (*Court Minutes*, September 7, 1614); his commanding presence and dignified bearing were useful qualifications for a mission to an Eastern court; while in the still more important matters of judgment and tact he was equally

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well equipped. Sprung from a noted city family, he combined the shrewdness, readiness of resource, and business ability which had raised his ancestors to fortune, with the culture and experience obtained by a varied training in most favourable circumstances. Of his earlier life there is not much to record. He was born at Leyton in 1580 or 1581, the son of Robert Roe,[1] and grandson of Sir Thomas Roe (lord mayor in 1568). In 1593 he was entered at Magdalen College, Oxford. His father died while Roe was still a minor, and his mother married into the Berkeley family. Probably by the influence of his new relatives, after spending some time "in one of the inns of Court[2] or in France or both" (Wood's *Athenæ*), he was made an Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth. Her Majesty's death did not hinder his advancement at court, for two years later he was knighted by her successor. The young courtier formed close friendships with Prince Henry and his sister Elizabeth (afterwards Electress Palatine and titular Queen of Bohemia); both seem to have been much attached to Roe, and in after-years the unhappy princess kept up a constant and intimate correspondence with "Honest Tom" (as she called him), and profited much by his devoted attention to her interests. Under the patronage of the Prince, Roe sought experience of the adventurous sort which was then in fashion. Equipping a couple of pinnaces, he set sail in February, 1610, on a voyage of discovery to Guiana, in the course of which he is said to have penetrated three hundred miles up the little-known river of the Amazons, and to have examined

[1] Robert Roe was the fourth son of Sir Thomas Roe, the eldest being John, who married a daughter of Secretary Wilson. According to a pedigree in the British Museum (*Harl. MS.* 1174, f. 89), which purports to be a copy of one (verified by the heralds) in the possession of Sir Thomas the younger, the latter was son of John—not of Robert; but there seems to be little doubt that this is a mistake.

[2] In Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* (vol. iii, p. 1272), Roe is stated to have been entered as a student in the Middle Temple in 1597.

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the coast from the mouth of that river to the Orinoco, reaching England again in July, 1611.[1] Soon, however, a cloud came over his fortunes. The Prince, from whose favour he might have hoped for much, died in November, 1612; and a few months later, the Princess's marriage took away his other patron. After spending some months on the Continent, Roe resolved to enter public life; and in the "Addled Parliament" of 1614 he sat as member for Tamworth. But though "he was one of those men who, if James had been well advised, would have been the very first to be selected for high office,"[2] his enlightened views were little likely to commend themselves to that monarch; and thus left with no prospect at home of reconciling his loyalty and affection for the royal family with his duty to the nation, it was to foreign service alone that Roe could look for a career of usefulness.

There were other reasons also why he was glad to accept employment of this nature. His fortune, which was probably in the first instance but moderate, seems to have been by this time seriously impaired. "I esteeme it an infinite mercy of God," he wrote later from India,[3] "that when I had fully ended and wasted my patrimony and saw no way but scorne (the reward of folly), before I suffred disgrace hee vndertooke mee, and, beeing as it were new borne, hee restored mee to a new Inheritance and sett me right, for I doubt not but to equall my wastes." Further, he had contracted a secret marriage with a lady of good social position (see p. 254 *n*): a step which made it all the more prudent for him to take a post which offered a comfortable salary, together with a chance of displaying his diplomatic talents

[1] Howes' continuation of Stow's *Annals*, p. 946; and Mr. Martin Hume's life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 302.
[2] Dr. Gardiner, in his *History of England* (ed. 1889), vol. ii, p. 311.
[3] Brit. Mus. *Harl. MS.* 1576, f. 514.

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and of thus recommending himself to the notice of the government.

The offer of the East India Company came, therefore, in good season; and no difficulty was experienced in arriving at an agreement. Roe's salary was fixed at six hundred pounds a year, of which one half was, at his request, to be put into the Company's stock. For the expenses of his outfit the Court bestowed upon him five hundred marks; a similar sum was advanced from his first year's salary "to satisfie som debtes which he oweth abroad;" and 100*l.* was lent for the purchase of plate for his table. Except a chaplain and a chirurgeon, whom the Company provided at the cost of 50*l.* and 24*l.* per annum respectively, Roe was to engage his own retinue, receiving for their wages an allowance of 100*l.* a year, with a grant of 30*l.* towards the cost of their liveries. Diet and other household expenses were to be charged to the Company, unless the Mogul should make an allowance for this purpose. Finally, Roe was strictly bound to forbear all private trade himself, and to hinder it as much as possible in others; also to abstain from interference with the Company's factors in matters of merchandise.[1]

All that now remained to be done was to obtain the royal sanction. This was readily given, King James approving both the Company's choice of an ambassador and the arrangements made for his mission; "houlding yt a good ground for him to worke vpon yf occasion should be to treate with the Spanyards concerning the East Indies, or else with the Flemynges." Roe was accordingly furnished with letters of credence, a royal missive to the Great Mogul, and detailed instructions for his guidance. The latter, it may be mentioned, included directions as to

[1] The agreement will be found in Appendix B. The other particulars here given are from the *Court Minutes* (I. O. Records).

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the reply he was to give if asked why the Portuguese aggressions in Asia were not actively resented; and also a recommendation to impress upon the Asiatic monarch, "by way of discourse," the greatness of King James and the naval strength of his kingdom, which "Maketh vs even a Terrour to all other Nations; Concluding all with this happines, that Wee be not onlie absolutelie obeyed but vniversally beloued and admyred of all our People."[1]

All being ready, on February 2, 1615, Roe embarked with fifteen followers in the *Lion* at Tilbury Hope.[2] Some time was spent in the Downs, and again at Portland, waiting for a wind, so that it was March 6 before they lost sight of the Lizard. The six months' voyage to Surat was uneventful, and to Roe exceedingly tedious. Apparently, in order to satisfy some of the wiseacres of the Court, the commanders had been warned not to allow Roe to encroach upon their authority, and he found himself, therefore, excluded carefully from their deliberations. "I liue to myselfe, as an Alion among the Tribes, as if the water were not my element," he wrote to the Governor of the Company (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 52). Roe could not help feeling and resenting this suspicious attitude, and he was consequently in a critical mood for the greater part of the voyage. He amused himself, however, by taking observations on his own account, and making notes of such tidings as came to his ears, "as poore men build their howses of reeds and canes for want of timber." The situation was, in fact, a delicate one; and with men less tactful than Roe and Keeling it might easily have brought about a quarrel. The latter, however, showed the ambassador every consideration consistent with obedience to his

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[1] See Appendix B. According to a note among the Bodleian manuscripts (*Carte* 103, f. 289) Roe also took with him a scroll on which was emblazoned his pedigree.

[2] Peyton's Journal (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 19276; and *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol i, p. 528).

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instructions, and Roe acknowledged in handsome terms his correct behaviour.

The ships touched at the Cape, at the Comoro Islands, and at Socotra. At the first of these stopping-places they fell in with the *Merchant's Hope*, one of the vessels of Downton's fleet of the preceding year, now on her way back from Surat to England with a lading of chintzes and indigo. She brought news of important events, as well on the Indian coast as at the Mogul Court. Soon after Best's departure from Surat, as already recorded, Canning started upon his mission to the Court. He reached Agra on April 9, 1613, and delivered the presents and royal letters of which he was the bearer. But the influence of the Jesuits and of the anti-English party among the nobles proved paramount; the Mogul and his minister disdained to treat with one who, by his own confession, was merely a merchant; and Canning found himself slighted, and his petitions for a grant of privileges and an answer to King James's missive ignored. Six weeks later he was carried off by sickness, and Thomas Kerridge was despatched from Surat to take his place. He experienced an equally unfavourable reception. Mukarrab Khán, the former Viceroy of Gujarát, to whom he was referred, met his representations with complaints of Middleton's exactions in the Red Sea, and with demands for compensation. The Portuguese agents spent freely, and backed up their presents by threats of retaliation should the English be permitted access to the trade. "For good successe," wrote Kerridge to Aldworth, in September, 1613, "I haue smale hope exceptt shippinge come this yeare as well to curbe the Portingals as to affright this people, whome nothinge butt feare will make honest;"[1]

[1] *O. C.*, No. 110 (printed in *Letters Received by the E. India Co.*, vol. i, p. 281).

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and he waited only for orders from his superior to abandon his fruitless mission. Suddenly, however, when the prospect appeared most hopeless, an ill-advised move on the part of the Portuguese brought about a complete change. A native vessel returning from the Red Sea with a rich freight was met off Surat by a Portuguese fleet; and, in spite of the fact that she was provided with the usual pass, she was captured and carried off. Apparently this was intended to frighten the Mogul into dismissing the English intruders; but it was presuming too much upon his patience, and the incensed monarch at once imprisoned all the Portuguese in his dominions and despatched Mukarrab Khán to besiege Damán. At this juncture (October, 1614) Downton arrived in Swally Road with his fleet—"four gallant shipps with four hundred gallant men," as Aldworth wrote joyfully to Kerridge (*O. C.*, No. 170). Mukarrab Khán at once applied to the English commander for his co-operation against the common enemy. His credit was involved in the speedy capture of Damán, on the fortifications of which his clumsy artillery could make no impression; and he was anxious, therefore, that the English ships should go "batter the castle." He was willing to promise, in return, any concessions the English might desire, and he urged with much force that the quarrel was really due to the presence of their vessels. The situation was a difficult one. On the one hand, the triumph of the Portuguese would undoubtedly mean the exclusion of the English from the Mogul's dominions; while their previous attack upon Best's fleet seemed a sufficient justification for measures of reprisal. On the other, Downton's errand was a peaceful one, and he knew that his employers would disapprove of his risking their ships and goods by any warlike operations which were not absolutely necessary; moreover, his commission from the king strictly forbade

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acts of unprovoked aggression against the Portuguese, and should he aid the infidels to capture one of their fortresses, he must expect that bitter complaints would be made by the Spanish Court; so that, alike in the event of success or failure his position might well become serious. Downton, though a capable seaman and a painstaking and reliable commander, was naturally diffident in matters of this kind; while his feeble health probably had its influence in preventing him from adopting a bold policy. A refusal was therefore returned to Mukarrab Khán's demand, and Downton made it understood that he should confine himself strictly to standing on the defensive. Mukarrab Khán, indignant at this reply, put for a time every obstacle in the way of the English trade, and made overtures to the Dutch at Masulipatam. Soon, however, the intelligence that the Viceroy of Goa was preparing an armament to attack Surat convinced him of the impolicy of driving away his only friends; and he therefore made Aldworth "large promises of future good respect," and paid a visit to Downton, to whom he was very gracious. A fortnight later, a score of small vessels—the advance-guard of the Portuguese flotilla—arrived; and these were followed shortly after (January, 1615) by the Viceroy himself with a formidable array. Mukarrab Khán, intimidated by these forces, and feeling little reliance on English help, made overtures for peace; but fortunately the Viceroy, convinced that victory was within his grasp, rejected the proferred terms as insufficient. The fight that followed has been several times narrated. The English position amongst the sandbanks of the roadstead, though it had many drawbacks, neutralised to some extent the superiority in numbers of the Portuguese. An attempt to carry the *Merchant's Hope* by boarding was repulsed with great loss; and subsequent endeavours to destroy the English vessels by means of

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fireships were frustrated by Downton's vigilance and adroit manœuvring. Finding at last that he could make no impression upon his opponent's fleet, and not daring to leave his ships exposed to their attacks while he sent his men up the river to attack Surat, the Viceroy was forced to abandon the attempt and to retire baffled. Downton remained until March 2, when the fleet set sail: the *Hope* for England, and the rest for Bantam. Meanwhile, William Edwards, the chief of the newly-arrived factors, had been despatched to Court with a new letter from King James and a fresh batch of presents, in the hope that, under altered circumstances, he would succeed in obtaining the formal grant of privileges for which Kerridge had pleaded in vain.

Such was the intelligence received by Roe at Table Bay. There was little more to learn when the ships cast anchor in Swally Road (September 18, 1615). Edwards was still at Court, where, owing partly to the Mogul's gratification at the presents he brought and partly to the impression produced by Downton's victory, he had met with a very promising reception. No peace had been concluded, though a preliminary agreement between Mukarrab Khán and a Portuguese representative had been submitted to the Mogul for ratification, and hostilities were for the present suspended. Surat was now nominally under the rule of Prince Khurram, the Mogul's favourite son, who had committed its government and the care of its rising revenues to one of his confidants, named Zúlfikár Khán. The latter, however, was not more favourably inclined towards the English than his predecessors; while a powerful party at Court, including the Prince and Mukarrab Khán, made no secret of their preference for the Portuguese.

There was thus ample scope for the abilities of the ambassador, whose difficulties commenced from the moment of his landing. He had wisely determined to

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take a high tone from the first, and to insist upon being received with the respect due to his office. This was the more necessary, as hitherto the English representatives had made no attempt to assert their dignity; indeed, the latest, Edwards, had "suffered blowes of the porters, base *Peons*, and beene thrust out by them with much scorne by head and shoulders without seeking satisfaction, and . . . . carried himselfe with such Complacency that hath bredd a low reputation of our Nation" (*Roe to Smythe*, January 24, 1616). Small wonder was it that upon the announcement of the arrival of yet another "ambassador," making high claim to respect, the natives "laughd one vpon another" (p. 45), or that the Governor of Surat felt himself at liberty to flout the new-comer and rifle the merchants' goods at his pleasure, regardless of protests and threats. Finding that no offer was made to bribe him into civility, he threw manifold obstacles in the way of the ambassador, and employed every artifice to humiliate and embarrass him. The story of the contest between the two furnishes most amusing reading. The victory rested with the Englishman, whose cool and resolute fence proved more than a match for the Oriental cunning of his adversary; and when Roe set out on his journey to the Court, the Governor humbly desired his friendship, and offered him "anything he would demand."

The situation of the English had, in fact, been changed by Roe's arrival in a way that completely justified the despatch of the embassy. Never, perhaps, were his countrymen so near expulsion from this, their only foothold in the Mogul's dominions—and expulsion would have meant reprisals which might well have made an irreparable breach. The draft treaty which was being pressed upon Jahángír by the advocates of the Portuguese stipulated for the absolute exclusion of the English from all parts of

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his empire. On October 18 arrived a *farmán* from the Prince, ordering "that the English should dischardge one ship and haue a Monthes staye, in trade, but no residences in the Towne;" and although it was afterwards found expedient to disavow these instructions, there can be no doubt that they were issued, and would in other circumstances have been obeyed. Roe, nothing daunted, resolved to hasten his journey to Court, and to ascertain from the king himself whether he was disposed to meet the reasonable demands of the English. If not, Roe would "returne to our shipes with expedition, having aduertised the Mogull That as he was Lord of his owne land and might doe his pleasure, and had forsaken the amytie of a Prince who had desired yt in faire and Honorable tearmes, for the Portugalls who made him tributary, to his eternall dishonor,[1] So he would fynd by experience the king my Master would be lord of all these seas and Ports to the prejudice of his subjects, in spight of those in whom he now trusted" (p. 75). Fortunately, this extreme measure was not required. The news that a real ambassador from the English king had arrived with presents roused the curiosity and cupidity of Jahángír himself, and a letter of reproof to the Governor was followed by a safe-conduct for Roe, "in all things very fauourable (except chardges)," which made his opponent look "very blancke" and enabled the ambassador to quit Surat in triumph.

He arrived at Ajmere on December 23, 1615, the journey having taken close upon two months. On his way up country, he paid a visit at Burhánpur to Sultan Parwíz, the Mogul's second son, who was nominally in command of the army operating against the forces of the Deccan kings; and from him Roe obtained a *farmán* authorising the English to establish a factory in that city.

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[1] See note on p. 472.

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The journey was made in much discomfort. At Burhánpur, fever laid hold of the ambassador, and shortly after his departure thence, for two nights (he wrote) "I was soe neare death that my owne company gaue me ouer; but God raysed me a little" (*Roe to Keeling*, *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 64). Even when he had reached the Court ("with as much dainger of dayly death as euer any man did, being carried all the way of my Iourny and soe layed in my bed"), for a whole week he lay prostrate; and it was not until January 10, 1616, that he was able to present himself at the *darbár*.[1]

The monarch to whom he was now introduced is known to history by the high-sounding title of Jahángír ("World-Grasper," or "Conqueror of the World"). He had been on the throne of Hindustán a little more than ten years, having succeeded his father, the great Akbar, in 1605. Some characteristics were common to both father and son—the love of hunting and other sports, the painstaking administration of justice, the considerate bearing towards strangers—but in other respects there was a great contrast between them. Of Akbar's administrative ability, as of his military skill, Jahángír had not a trace. Both monarchs interested themselves in religious discussions; but while Akbar had been actuated by a sincere desire to find a faith which should reconcile the clashing tenets of the creeds around him—"a temple neither pagod, mosque, nor church"—Jahángír, though even in drink he would "dispute of the lawes of Moses, Jesus and Mahomett," felt but a

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[1] This illness was but the forerunner of many others that afflicted him during his stay in India. Little is said upon the subject in the Journal, but it is mentioned from time to time in his private letters, and the many vexations of his mission were seriously aggravated by this constant ill-health. Few more melancholy sentences were ever written than that quoted on p. 343: "I was not borne to a life smooth and easy; all my actions haue beene mingled with crosses and rubbes, that I might rather say I wrestled then walked toward my Graue."

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languid interest in such questions, and his tolerance was the outcome not of reason but of indifference. What in the father had been the eager workings of a mind desirous of embracing and utilising information of all kinds, became in the son a childish curiosity which (as evinced in his extraordinary diary) found as much satisfaction in watching the birds of his aviary, or counting the number of cups of wine he drank, as in hearing of the weightiest matters of state. But, on the whole, despite his drunkenness, his occasional lapses into cruelty, his weak-minded submission to the influence of his wife and of his favourite son, the portrait of Jahángír drawn by Roe is not unfavourable. He was uniformly kind and courteous to the ambassador; and his gracious behaviour on this occasion greatly pleased and encouraged Roe, who notes exultantly that he was treated "with more fauour and outward grace . . . then euer was showed to any Ambassador, eyther of the Turke or Persian or other whatsoeuer." It is evident that the king was favourably impressed by Roe's demeanour; and, indeed, his attitude during the whole period of the latter's stay in the country showed his personal esteem and liking for the ambassador, combined, it must be owned, with a total indifference to the objects of his mission.

But however well-disposed the monarch himself might be, Roe soon found that there were other persons to be reckoned with whose good-will it was not so easy to secure. The Conqueror of the World was the slave of a woman—his consort, Núr Mahál, or Núr Jahán, as she was afterwards styled. Her father, Itimád-uddaula, and her brother, Ásaf Khán, had a large share in the administration of affairs; while her niece (Ásaf Khán's daughter) was the wife of Sultán Khurram, the Mogul's favourite son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne under the title of Sháh Jahán. All these personages were at this time in close alliance, their special aim being to strengthen the

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prince's influence and advance his interests against those of his elder brothers—Sultán Khusrú, who since his rebellion (1606) had been kept a close prisoner, and Sultán Parwíz, who (as already stated) was nominally in command of the army in the Deccan.[1] Unfortunately, Roe did not at first perceive, or else failed to estimate correctly, the strength of the power behind the throne. Confident in the good-will of the king, he hoped to override, if necessary, all opposition; and the parsimony exercised by the Court in his stock of presents, contrasting with the lavish supply sent with his predecessor, effectually prevented him from making friends in the only way friends could be made at the Mogul Court. Even for the king himself Roe had to draw upon his own slender store, and he was absolutely destitute of presents fit to be offered to the Queen, or sufficient to satisfy the inordinate expectations of her brother.[2]

To the Prince he paid a visit of compliment and delivered a present, though "not in the name of his Majestie, it beeing too meane;" but at the first interview he hinted an intention of appealing to the Mogul if speedy satisfaction were not given for the wrongs suffered at Surat. The veiled

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[1] "Asaph Chan did expect some great present for him selfe and the Queene, as I vnderstood; and as he is the Cheefest man with the Kyng, soe is he in faction with Sultan Coronne (who hath maried his daughter), and Normall the beloued wife of the Kyng is sister to Asaph Chan. So they are lincked togeather, gouerne the Kyng, and carry busines that no Complaynt should be made wherby the Kyng might be angry with Sultan Coronne."—*Roe to the Company*, January 25, 1616 (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 71).

[2] "For presents, I haue none, or so meane that they are woorse then none; so that I haue resolued to giue none, for the last years liberalitye and prouision of the Company was such . . . as I can no way equall. Therfore I answer all the Great ones: I come from Kyng to Kyng, not to present euery man, but to demand Iustice for the Iniuries and insolencyes offered his Maiesties subiects" (*Roe to Keeling*, January 13, 1616: *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 65).

In an earlier letter (January 1, 1616: *ibid.*), Roe told Keeling that he had sent Ásaf Khán "a ringe . . . to make aquayntance (not as a present, but in loue)," but it had been returned "as too poore of valew; yett did the Kings stone Cutter rate it at 400 *rupyes*."

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threat was hardly likely to be palatable to the Prince, whose "proud nature" is especially noted by Roe, and whose prepossession against the English mission had probably been increased by the representations of Zúlfikár Khán, and the complaints from the Surat officials, not only of the loss of trade caused by the exclusion of the Portuguese, but also of the riotous behaviour of the English seamen.

For the present, however, no animosity was shown, and Roe set about his negotiations with great hope of success. One of the earliest objects of his solicitude had been the attitude of the Portuguese. As long as such attacks as those of 1612 and 1615 were possible, it was necessary to keep the whole of the English fleet at Surat for one ship's lading, at an expense of time and money which seriously reduced the profits of the trade. Could Roe have had his way, the challenge of the past year at Swally would have been answered at Goa, for "the offensiue (he wrote to the Company) is both the nobler and the safer part" (p. 99). But his present errand was one of peace, and he had therefore, while still at Surat, addressed a letter to the Viceroy (couched, it is true, in somewhat imperious terms) offering him "comprisure" in the intended treaty with the Mogul, and threatening reprisals if the Portuguese persisted in their hostility. The letter was ignored; but gradually the question lost its urgency. The conclusion of peace (in a very informal fashion) between the natives and the Portuguese and the resumption of commerce dissipated Roe's dream of joint action against the Viceroy's forces; the latter, crippled by want of supplies from home, attacked in the West by the Persians, in the East by the Dutch, could initiate no vigorous action against the intruders at Surat; while the English had gained all that was pressingly wanted, when they were no longer actively molested. For past

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offences, they revenged themselves on the Portuguese shipping whenever an opportunity occurred; and perhaps they were not altogether sorry that "the warr was left open for both at sea" (p. 96), and thus a legitimate excuse provided for prize-taking.

As already stated, the authorities at Goa made no response to Roe's peremptory summons; but he had still to feel their influence at Court. At his first interview with the Prince, the latter had promised him "a *firmaen* for Suratt effectually;" when, however, the document was received, it was found to be contingent on Roe's signature of an undertaking to allow the Portuguese vessels to trade at that port without molestation. To this the ambassador refused to agree, partly because he feared a treacherous attack if the Portuguese ships were allowed to ride among the English, and partly because he deemed it dishonouring to give such an undertaking unless a similar assurance was required from the Viceroy. To the refusal it was answered he "should then haue no *firmaen* for Suratt;" and an appeal to the good offices of Ásaf Khán led to the discovery that he was "the author of this deuice and an earnest disputer for the reasonablenes therof." Roe was for a while irresolute as to his best course of action; but after waiting some time, and making several ineffectual attempts to obtain his desire, he determined to bring the matter to the notice of the King. The result was not altogether fortunate. A preliminary conversation regarding the curiosities which the English could bring excited the Mogul's cupidity, and on hearing the ambassador's vague reference to wrongs which, if unremedied, would force them to quit the trade, he "grew suddenly into Choler, pressing to know who had wronged vs, with such show of fury that I was loath to follow yt." Roe attempted to appease him by saying (through his bungling interpreter) that he would seek justice from the Prince; but Jahángír conceived that

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he was accusing the latter, and, calling for his son, rated him soundly in the presence of the Court. With the aid of a Persian nobleman, Roe succeeded in making his meaning clear, and an animated discussion then took place between him and "the Portugalles syde," in which (he says) "I explayned myselfe fully concerning them; and . . . . wee wear very warme." At last Ásaf Khán interposed to quiet the dispute, and it was agreed that the ambassador should submit his demands in writing, "and if they were found reasonable the king would firme them."

This arrangement opened the way to a proposal by which Roe hoped to place the position of his countrymen on a safe and lasting basis, and at the same time to avoid these dangerous controversies with the Prince, by obtaining a general concession, which would apply to Surat as to any other ports where the English might settle, and which, as emanating from the Mogul himself, could not be overridden by any lesser authority. *Farmáns*, however favourable, were of little use; they were partial in their application, being, in most cases, a definite order to some particular official; and they were liable to be superseded at any moment by fresh commands in a contrary sense. What the ambassador desired was something of a more permanent nature—a solemn treaty between his royal master and the Great Mogul, securing definite privileges to the English merchants, and binding "the high and mighty king of India" to the due and faithful performance of its conditions. Such a treaty—intended, in fact, to be on a par with the "capitulations" obtained by the European nations in Turkey—Roe now drew up and presented for consideration. It provided for the free access of the English to all ports belonging to the Great Mogul, including those of Bengal and Sind, and the free passage of their goods without payment of any duty beyond the usual customs; they were to be allowed to buy and sell

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freely, to rent factories, to hire boats and carts, and to buy provisions at the usual rates; while other articles were directed against the confiscation of the effects of deceased factors, the obnoxious claim to search the persons of the merchants on going ashore, the opening of presents intended for the king, delays in the custom-house, and other similar abuses. On the part of the English, Roe was willing to engage that they should not molest the ships of other nations, "except the enemyes of the said English, or any other that shall seeke to injure them," and that their factors, while residing ashore, should "behaue themselves peaceably and Ciuilly;" that they should do their best to procure rarities for the Great Mogul, and should furnish him (upon payment) with any goods or "furniture of warr" that he could reasonably desire; and that they should assist him against "any Enemy to the Common Peace." The Portuguese were to be admitted to "enter into the said Peace and leauge," should they be willing; but if they did not do so within six months, the English were to be permitted to treat them as enemies and make war upon them at sea "without any offence to the said great King of India."

This scheme for "a good and perfect loue, leauge and peace to endure for euer" was referred by the Mogul to Ásaf Khán, through whom all business relating to the English had to pass. After some demur, he appeared to approve the draft, at least with some verbal amendments; and meeting the English envoy one day at the *darbár*, he told him that the articles "were ready for the seale."

Meanwhile fresh matter for controversy had arrived in the shape of the long-expected particulars from Surat of the sums extorted by the local officials, especially by the Governor, Zúlfikár Khán, who had been recalled to Court in consequence of Roe's complaints, but "with our goodes extorted by force [had] made his Peace" (p. 157). These

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statements were sent to Ásaf Khán, who as usual promised complete satisfaction. Seeing, however, no sign of progress, Roe took the Prince "some powrfull wyne and in the strength therof desired Iustice." He received "an open promise for effectual satisfaction" upon all points, except the infliction of personal punishment on the Governor, a demand which he found it would be wiser to forgo; and so he went home "well Content with this, it beeing the best Morning that euer wee had in India." Within a few days the Prince had signed two *farmáns*, one authorising the residence of the English at Surat and their free passage inland, the other ordering redress for the abuses they had suffered. These Roe gladly received, and despatched to Surat.

Matters went on quietly for another month, which was passed for the most part in negotiations over the sum claimed by Roe from Zúlfikár Khán in repayment of his exactions. After much haggling, the latter offered 17,000 *mamúdís* in full discharge: but Roe, acting on the information supplied to him from Surat, rejected this as insufficient. Later on he was mortified to discover that the account sent up by the factors was incorrect, and that the amount offered in settlement was after all a reasonable one. No opportunity was lost, either, of pressing Ásaf Khán for the signature of Roe's "articles from the King, which were of most consequence:" but the minister, while full of promises and artful excuses, seemed determined to delay matters indefinitely.

Soon Roe's prospects grew still more gloomy. The Mogul, finding that no more presents were forthcoming, had lost interest in the demands of his foreign visitor; the Prince, already irritated by the relentless way in which his favourite was being pursued, was still more angered by some scenes at Court over an English runaway, in which he had been entirely discomfited; and, to crown

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all, some Portuguese merchants, who had arrived "with many rarietyes to sell the king and with rich Presents from the Vizeroy of Goa," had made handsome gifts to Ásaf Khán and other influential persons, and were consequently in high favour. The English "were for a tyme eclipsed," and the general attitude of the courtiers towards the new-comers gave Roe food for deep reflection. On June 1 he was informed by a message from Ásaf Khán that, upon the complaint of the Prince, the King had forbidden him to present himself at Court; and hints were not wanting that some of the Prince's turbulent soldiery might take occasion to revenge his open braving of their chief. Nothing daunted, Roe assumed a careless attitude. The threat of violence he treated with scorn; while to Ásaf Khán's offers of help, provided he would compound with Zúlfikár Khán, he replied that he would not "giue away the Companyes Monny for good lookes: The world was wyde enough: we gott not soe much by this trade as wee would buy it with too much Iniurye;" he would await the king's answer a few days longer, "and accordingly eyther resolue of longer residence or prepare to retyre myselfe and my Nation toward our Port to seeke better entertaynment."

Roe was, in fact, seriously considering the advisability of thus bringing matters to a decisive issue, when the solution of the deadlock came from an unexpected quarter. Mukarrab Khán, hitherto an enemy of the English, thinking he saw a chance of currying favour with them "in hope of the first sight of raretyes from England," took an opportunity of telling the Mogul the reason why the English envoy came no more to Court. Jahángír promptly denied having issued any order for his exclusion, and desired Mukarrab Khán to inform him to that effect. Roe's new friend was most anxious that he should rely upon him rather than upon Ásaf Khán; but the ambassador, know-

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ing the power of the latter, judged it unwise to break with him, and accordingly accepted with seeming cordiality the assurances of friendship which Ásaf Khán made to him on hearing of Mukarrab Khán's overtures. The mourning caused by the death of a favourite granddaughter of the Mogul delayed Roe's audience, but on June 25 he presented himself at Court, and "was receiued by the King after the ould manner, no difference, without taking any Notice of my absence." Negotiations were resumed, all the more urgently because Zúlfikár Khán was soon to depart with the Prince for the Deccan war. By July 9 an agreement had been reached; but this was followed by fresh evasions and delays, and it was not until August 5 that Roe was able to record that "this long and troublesome busines is finished." The full amount demanded had not been obtained, but the loss was trifling; and to have forced the favourite of the all-powerful Prince to disgorge his exactions was a notable success for English diplomacy, and a salutary warning to other Governors. The Prince seemed to have forgotten his resentment, and treated the ambassador with reasonable civility. Even the "propositions for priuiledges" were said to have been acceded to; and a fresh proposal from Roe that the English should pay a yearly sum of Rs. 12,000 in satisfaction of all customs due from them at Surat (p. 210) was courteously debated, though in the end it was allowed to drop. From the King himself he "neuer receiued so much grace and fauour . . . as at this tyme, which all men tooke notice off and accordingly altered their fashions toward" him (p. 212); and Ásaf Khán was full of "complements of frendship and loue."

A characteristic incident lightens the pages of the Journal at this point. Roe had presented to Jahángír a choice miniature, painted by Isaac Oliver, which gave him "extreame content," and, "confident that noe man in

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India could equall yt," the ambassador had agreed to a wager that he would be able to distinguish it from any copies the Court painters could produce. When, however, the matter came to the test, he found that the native artists had succeeded beyond expectation, and it was only with difficulty that he was able "to discerne which was which." The King was "very merry and Ioyfull and craked like a Northern man" (p. 225). He insisted on the ambassador presenting the painter with a suitable reward; gave Roe his choice of the copies that had been made, "to showe in England wee are not so vnskillfull as you esteeme vs;" and, as a further mark of favour, presented him with his portrait.

August brought fresh matter for the exercise of Roe's diplomacy, for news came that a Dutch ship had arrived at Surat, and that her crew spoke of a further fleet expected from Holland. It was clearly to the interest of the English to get rid of these troublesome competitors, "who would both out-present, out-bribe, and out-buy vs in all things" (p. 228); yet Roe was unwilling, for many reasons, to show open hostility, more especially as the arguments he had used against the Portuguese monopoly would then be turned against himself. Ingeniously, if somewhat disingenuously, he endeavoured to compass his object by instilling into the minds of Ásaf Khán and the Prince a suspicion that the real object of the Dutch was to plunder native shipping in revenge for injuries previously sustained at Surat and Burhánpur: that in any case they would be disorderly and unruly, "so that if his highnes could be quiettly ridd of them, it were a happines and ease to him" (p. 236). The intrigue was not entirely successful. The fear that, if repulsed, the Dutch would retaliate by capturing the ships then due from the Red Sea induced the native authorities to permit them to leave a few factors, with a stock of merchandise, at Surat "vntill the Princes answere and resolution were

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knowne ;" and the footing thus obtained was made good in January, 1618, when a deputation waited upon Jahángír and the Prince at Ahmadábád, and obtained a grant of privileges "vpon as good tearmes almost as wee" (pp. 459, 469).

Five months had now passed since Roe had presented for consideration the details of his proposed treaty. He had made every effort to obtain its ratification, yet no answer—either yea or nay—had been returned. Urged to action by the approach of the new fleet from England, he resolved to wait no longer for this general concession, but to secure at least a temporary grant from the Prince, "whose Port wee were att, and with whom was our greatest busines." His overtures were well received. Stipulating only that "whatsoeuer toyes came to bee sould might be first showed to him," the Prince agreed to all the privileges demanded, and a *farmán* embodying these was ordered to be drawn and sealed without delay. Thus the immediate necessities of the English were provided for, and the incoming fleet might safely land their goods and drive their trade without fear of the hindrances and abuses which their predecessors had suffered.

Meanwhile, renewed tokens of the Mogul's esteem had roused fresh hopes in Roe's breast. At the beginning of September, Jahángír celebrated his birthday with great pomp. With his usual considerateness he had ordered that the English envoy should be invited to witness the ceremony of weighing the monarch against gold and other things; but, owing to a mistake of the messenger, Roe attended at the wrong time, "and soe missed the sight." In the evening, however, after he had retired to rest, he was sent for in great haste. A few days previously, he had incautiously shown the King's painter, "for the arts sake," a miniature he had, depicting—if we guess rightly — the lady whom he had espoused prior to

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his departure from England. The news had reached the Mogul's ears, and he was all agog to see the miniature, thinking, probably, that it had been purposely kept from his sight lest he should expect to be presented with it. Roe found him "sitting crosse leggd on a little throne, all cladd in diamondes, Pearles and rubyes . . . . his Nobilitye about him in their best equipage, whom hee Commanded to drinck froliquely, seuerall wynes standing by in great flagons." The miniature was no sooner seen than coveted, and the ambassador, after a faint resistance, was forced to present it.[1] He was then asked to join in celebrating the anniversary, and, after he had pledged the monarch in some wine, was invited to accept the gold cup, with cover and stand, in which it had been served. Jahángír's gracious demeanour on this occasion (he "sent me woord hee more esteemed mee than euer any Francke . . . . which his Publique and many graces I found presently in the fashion of all his Nobilitye") encouraged Roe to press Ásaf Khán for the signature of the desired "articles," "assuring him his Maiestie could giue mee no present so acceptable;" and Ásaf Khán promised to meet his wishes without delay.

Two days later the answer arrived; but it was far from being the one he expected. "I receiued my Articles back from Asaph chan, who tooke now att last many exceptions, and margined them with his Pen in most Insolent sort, scorning that any man should article att all; saying it was sufficient for mee to receiue a *firmaen* from the Prince, who was lord of Suratt, and, for lycence to trade at any other Port, of Bengala or Syndu, it should neuer be granted; but in Conclusion pretended the length and forme to be such as would offend the king. Some Articles hee con-

[1] Jahángír declared that, as Roe so valued the miniature, it should be returned after copies had been taken; but there is nothing to show that this was done.

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sented too, and to them, beeing reducd to the forme of a *firmaen*, hee would procure yt sealed." This reply appears to have taken Roe by surprise; yet, after all, there was small cause for astonishment. Quite apart from the fact that a concession of the kind desired was quite repugnant to Oriental ideas of sovereignty,[1] there were other reasons which placed it out of the question. As Roe at once saw, the main objection was that the articles were so drawn "that I should nott much neede the Prince, and if wee disliked wee might refuse his Gouerment." It was a point of honour with Khurram that his administration of Surat should not be interfered with; and he and his supporters were resolved that nothing should be granted which would in any way lessen his authority. As for the English demand for leave to frequent other ports, this, it was feared, would involve a diminution of the customs of Surat; and it threatened, besides, to extend to Bengal and Sind the dissensions between the rival European nations which had already worked so much mischief in Gujarát. Perhaps, too, we may add a further consideration—that it was held to be derogatory that the Mogul should sign a treaty with the representative of an obscure and distant country, especially on matters relating almost entirely to trade. "Neyther will this overgrowne Eliphant," wrote the ambassador bitterly, "descend to Article or bynde himselfe reciprocally to any Prince vpon terms of Equalety, but only by way of fauour admitt our stay so long as it either likes him or those that Gouerne

1 "The Mogul," says Terry, "sometimes by his Firmauns or letters patent will grant some particular thing unto single or divers persons and presently after will contradict those grants by other letters, excusing himself thus: that he is a great and an absolute King, and therefore must not be tied unto any thing; which if he were, he said that he was a slave, and not a free man. Yet what he promised was usually enjoyed, altho he would not be tied to a certain performance of his promise. Therefore, there can be no dealing with this King upon very sure terms, who will say and unsay, promise and deny."

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him" (*Letter to the English Ambassador at Constantinople*, August 21, 1617: *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 207). Indeed, there is nothing more striking to a present-day reader than the indifference towards Europeans displayed by the King and his ministers. Jahángír's memoirs, while duly chronicling the arrival of missions from Persia and other neighbouring countries, and minutely noting many trivial details, make no direct allusion to the English ambassador. Though Jahángír himself was courteous and considerate, his son did not conceal his contempt for the foreign traders; while Ásaf Khán's masterful insolence—as here exemplified—was equally hard to endure. In point of fact, to the sovereign of Hindustán there were only two other monarchs who could even pretend to an equality with himself—the Persian Sháh, and the still more distant ruler of Constantinople and its dependencies.[1] The kings of the Deccan may be left out of the account, for they were looked upon as little more than revolted vassals of the throne of Delhi. That the Franks should send an ambassador to the imperial Court was by no means unwelcome as a tribute to its splendour and fame, but that they should seriously claim to treat on terms of equality with the Great Mogul was not to be thought of. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the Portuguese and their agents had systematically belittled the English monarch and his representatives; and, thanks to them, it was perfectly understood at the Mogul Court that Roe was working in the interests of a handful of English traders—a profession which the Moguls held in great contempt; and, had there been any doubt in the

[1] One day, at Mandú, Jahángír asked to be shown, in an atlas presented by Roe, the representation of his own dominions; but finding it by no means correspondent to his expectations, "he seemed to be a little troubled," and returned the volume to the ambassador (p. 417).

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matter, it would have been dissipated by the continual representations which the ambassador's position forced him to make to secure the payment of debts due to the merchants. Bearing these considerations in mind, we shall have little difficulty in comprehending the reasons of Roe's failure. He had, indeed, been plainly warned by Ásaf Khán, only eight days after he had presented them, that his demands "were vnreasonable and Could not be signed;" but his confidence in the King's favour had buoyed him up with hopes of success. For a time the minister—partly on account of Jahángír's partiality towards his visitor, partly in hopes of personal profit—seems to have avoided undeceiving him; and, with all the cunning of Oriental statecraft, he repeatedly led the ambassador to believe that his demands were on the point of being granted. Now, at last, when apparently Roe had brought himself to solicit the desired privileges from the Prince, Ásaf Khán endeavoured to clench the matter by plainly showing him that only in that quarter could his desires be obtained, and that his only course was to "depend wholy" on the favour of Khurram.

For a moment, Roe was at a loss what to do. Though filled with anger at Ásaf Khán's duplicity, he "durst not yet leaue him, nor take notice of his falshood." He felt that he "had a woolfe by the eares;" and that there was no alternative but submission, at least for the present. Pretending to be unaware of the true reasons of the minister's behaviour, he "seemed only to apprehend his dislike of the lenght and Phrase." So he re-drew his demands—not, be it noted, in the form of a treaty, but in that of a *farmán* to be accorded by the king—in shorter and more general terms; omitting, too, all mention of the Portuguese. But all was to no purpose. Ásaf Khán returned answer "that absolutly hee would procure nothing sealed that any way Concerned the Princes Gouerment: that I

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should only expect from him what wee desired, whose *firmaens* were sufficient." Temporarily, at all events, it was necessary to be content with the Prince's grant, which met the present needs. For a general concession, Roe notes, "I am resolued to vse the Prince, and doubt not to effect that by him which himselfe hath Crossed and resisted."

For the present, therefore, the English envoy was forced to fall back on the *rôle* of spectator; and certainly there was no lack of interesting sights. All the city was in a stir at the prospect of the early removal of the Court. Sultán Parwíz, whose want of success against the Deccan forces had led to his recall, approached Ajmere only to be ordered to Bengal in disgrace, after a vain attempt (frustrated by Núr Mahál) to see his father in the hope of reconciliation; and Prince Khurram was preparing with all pomp to take his place. The destination of the King himself was kept a profound secret, but it was guessed, and (as the event proved) guessed correctly, that his intention was to move southwards to Mandú to countenance his son's operations in the Deccan. In the early part of October, Abdala Khán, the late viceroy of Gujarát, arrived at Court as a prisoner "in Counterfait humiliation," but was pardoned and taken again into favour at the intercession of the Prince, to whom his military abilities promised to be of great assistance. On the same day came two ambassadors from the Deccan Princes to treat of peace, at the instigation (it was rumoured) of the Mogul general, who had no wish to see Khurram take command of his forces. Jahángír, however, referred them to his son, who, anxious that he should not lose "the honor of finishing that warr," refused to listen to any overtures until he had taken the field. To set the seal upon the Mogul's exaltation of Khurram at the expense of his brothers, the unfortunate Khusrú, after a little difficulty, was made

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over to the custody of Ásaf Khán—a transfer which was looked upon as a presage of his speedy death. Shortly afterwards, an ambassador from Persia arrived in great state, with an equipage and an array of presents beside which those brought by Roe seemed indescribably scanty and mean. The English envoy consoled himself, however, with the reflection that the new-comer did not experience so favourable a reception, and "had in nothing more grace, in many thinges not so much" as he had had. In himself the Persian "appeared rather a Iester or Iugler then a Person of any grauety, running vp and downe" when presenting his master's gifts, "and acting all his woordes like a mimick Player." His servility much disgusted Roe, but it pleased the Mogul, who gave him 20,000 rupees to defray his expenses, and treated him with great favour.

In the meantime, news had arrived that the English fleet, under the command of Captain Pepwell, had cast anchor at Swally. On the way out, a return blow had been dealt at the Portuguese for their attacks upon Best and Downton. Near the Comoro Islands a large carrack bound for Goa was overtaken and drawn into a conflict. After a hot fight, in which the English commander, Captain Joseph, was slain, and his successor (Pepwell) dangerously wounded, the Portuguese vessel was forced ashore, where her crew abandoned and burnt her. This news Roe lost no time in conveying to the Mogul, who seemed to rejoice at the English victory "and to applaud the valor of our Nation, but fell off to: What hath the king sent mee?" Roe assured him that "many Curious toyes" had been brought for presentation to His Majesty, and asked to be furnished with letters "for the Comming of these presentes without search, and for the good vsadg of our People." Jahángír replied that "the Port was his sonns," but he directed the latter to give the requisite orders, and Khurram "professed and promised . . . all

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reasonable Content." "This," commented the ambassador, "is the strength of New Presentes."

One incident should not be omitted. The letters newly received directed Roe to obtain, if possible, the cession of a safe port with permission to fortify. Upon his arrival he had quite concurred in the advantage of such a plan (p. 94), but a year's experience had made him change his opinion. He was "sure of refusall," and was equally confident "that to be denyed yt is for our advantage." Still, he felt bound not only to prefer the request but to do so in the way most likely to procure a compliance with it. He addressed himself, therefore, to the Prince, pretending a fear that the Portuguese would retaliate upon both English and natives for their late disaster, and offering, if the grant were made, to undertake the naval defence of the coast and of the Red Sea traffic. As he expected, his proposal was instantly rejected. Khurram "answered with scorne that his father nor hee needed not our assistance: he ment not warr with the Portugall for our sakes, neyther would euer deliuer any fort to vs;" and when Roe attempted to prefer the same request to the King, Ásaf Khán absolutely refused to put the matter to his master.

Writing to the Company at this time (p. 342), Roe reviewed his year's work and its results. "For the settling your trafique here," he said, "I doubt not to affect any reasonable desier. My Creditt is sufficient with the King, and your force will alway bynd him to Constancy .... Articles of treaty on equall tearmes I cannot effect; want of Presents disgraced mee. But yet by Peices I haue gotten as much as I desird at once. I haue recouered all bribes, extortions, debts made and taken before my tyme till this day; or at least an Honorable composition. But when I deliuer the Next guiftes to the Mogoll, in the Princes absence, I will sett on anew for a formall contract

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. . . I will settle your trade here secure with the King, and reduce it to order if I may be heard." But, this done, it would be unnecessary to keep an English representative at Court. "An Ambassador liues not in fitt honor," he wrote; "I could sooner dye then be subiect to the slauerye the Persian is content with. A meaner Agent would among these proud Moores better effect your busines . . . . I haue moderated it according to my discretion, but with a swolne hart;" and a native agent with a salary of a thousand rupees a year, with a subordinate at Surat, would "effect all." Projects of "ayding the Mogoll or waffing his subiects into the Redd Sea," of obtaining the grant of a fortified port, and of increasing the number of English settlements, were set aside as impracticable; "it is not Number of Ports, factoryes and residences that will profitt you; they will encrease chardge, but not recompence it." Against an extravagant and aggressive policy he solemnly warned the Company: "A warr and trafique are incompatible. By my consent, you shall no way engage your selues but at sea, wher you are like to gayne as often as to loose. It is the beggering of the Portugall, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territoryes, that hee keepes souldiers that spendes it; yet his garrisons are meane. He neuer Profited by the Indyes, since hee defended them. Obserue this well. It hath beene also the error of the Dutch, who seeke Plantation heere by the Swoord. They turne a woonderfull stocke, they proule in all Places, they Posses some of the best; yet ther dead Payes consume all the gayne. Lett this bee receiued as a rule that if you will Profitt, seeke it at Sea, and in quiett trade; for without controuersy it is an error to affect Garrisons and Land warrs in India."

In the beginning of November, the Mogul with great pomp left Ajmere, and Roe, after a short delay, followed him. At first, Agra seemed to be the objective; but after

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a time the King turned suddenly south, and, hunting as he went, pushed "thorough woodes and over Mountayns" to Mandú, where stood the ruins of the old capital of Málwa. From this point of vantage, on a range of hills overlooking the Narbadá valley, he could watch over and countenance the operations of Khurram, whose headquarters were at Burhánpur, ninety miles away to the south-east. Early in March they reached this desolate spot, and remained there until late in October. Roe was fortunate enough to secure eligible quarters in a deserted mosque, and, having discovered a spring of water near, was far better off than most of his fellow-travellers. Amongst the camp-followers, however, the distress was very great; and the ambassador says emphatically that "there was not a misery nor punishment which either the want of Gouernment or the naturall disposition of the Clime gaue vs not" (p. 393).

Meanwhile, after much delay, the presents brought by the 1616 fleet had been despatched from Surat under the charge of the Reverend Edward Terry, who was to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the chaplain whom Roe had brought out with him. On the way to the royal camp, the party met the Prince proceeding to Burhánpur. The latter demanded to be shown the presents they were carrying to his father, but this was quietly but firmly refused. Finding he could not prevail, and receiving an order from the Mogul (to whom Roe had at once complained) not to touch the presents, he sent them under escort to the King's encampment, where Jahángír, unable to restrain his cupidity, opened the packages and appropriated their contents before Roe could appear on the scene. The nicknacks provided for the Prince and the Queen, the reserve stock of presents, even a hat intended for Roe, and some velvets and silks sent up for sale at Court—all had gone. Roe was extremely angry, and the interview

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which followed between the greedy monarch and the mortified ambassador is described in one of the most entertaining passages in the Journal (p. 383). The King promised everything that could be wished if he might only be allowed to retain his new acquisitions; and he was so lavish in his protestations that Roe consoled himself with the reflection that perhaps after all he was "happely robbd." In any case, he was saved a journey he had promised to make to the Prince's camp; for the presents intended for Khurram had been seized with the rest, and Jahángír, unwilling to disgorge any part of his booty, declared the visit unnecessary and wrote to his son to excuse it (p. 396 *n*).

The summer and autumn of 1617 passed away without the occurrence of any incident of special importance. The Deccan princes came to terms with the Prince, who returned in triumph to Mandú at the beginning of October. He was received with extravagant marks of favour by his doting father; honours were showered upon him, including the title of Sháh Jahán, by which he was ever after known; and his ascendancy over the Emperor seemed for a time to be complete. This boded ill for English hopes; for the Prince maintained his former attitude of arrogant enmity. Roe himself had been looking forward to a speedy return to his native country; "My Master hath written most graciously," he said,[1] "but I Pine here while others are in the wayes of preferment." The 1617 fleet, however, which, under the command of Captain Martin Pring, arrived in September, brought an urgent entreaty from the Company that he would remain another year, and Roe, unwilling to go home without better results than had yet been obtained, consented.

He was not without hopes that he would, after all,

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[1] Letter to Pring, October 8, 1617: *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 273.

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procure his desires owing to a fresh change in the political kaleidoscope. The alliance between Núr Mahál and Sháh Jahán had been weakening for some time; and the former, jealous, it may be, of the increasing power of the latter, had made advances first to Prince Khusrú and then to Prince Shariyár, who, on his elder brother's refusal of her overtures, became her son-in-law by marrying her daughter by her first husband (p. 404 *n*). In these circumstances, neither Núr Mahál herself nor her obedient henchman Ásaf Khán saw any reason for continuing their unfriendly attitude towards the dispenser of good things from the West. Roe was quick to notice this opportunity, and at once resolved to take advantage of it. A fine pearl, which the factors of the newly-arrived fleet had smuggled up to the ambassador, was secretly sold to Ásaf Khán at considerably less than its cost;[1] and by this and other favours of a similar nature, the minister and his sister were completely won over to the English side. By the mediation of Ásaf Khán, an interview took place between Roe and the Prince, in which he was treated with some show of kindness; and the ambassador's new friend also undertook to obtain for him not only a *farmán* for Bengal (which he had previously solicited in vain), but also "a generall command and grant of free Priuiledges" in all the Mogul's dominions. Hopes were also held out that the Prince, who was about to take up the government of Gujarát, would surrender, among other *jágírs*, that of Surat; and Ásaf Khán would then apply for its grant to himself and "make Englishmen content and happy." In the sequel, however, these fresh promises of the minister proved as untrustworthy as his previous ones.

Towards the close of October, 1617, Jahángír struck

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[1] See p. 456. Roe is generally stated to have *given* the pearl to Ásaf Khán; but this is a mistake.

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his camp at Mandú and bent his steps towards Ahmadábád, the capital of Gujarát. Roe, who, during the later stages of the march, had posted on in advance, reached that city on December 15. As before, the presents from England, which it had been his special object to secure, became a bone of contention between him and the Prince. They had been sealed at Surat with the latter's seal, in order to make sure that they should not be opened except with his cognisance. Roe waited twenty days for the necessary permission; and this not arriving, he boldly cut the seals and took possession of the goods. It was a great affront, as the courtiers told him; and Ásaf Khán, though he seems to have assented beforehand, shrank from supporting the offender. The Prince complained vehemently, and Roe found himself virtually under arrest. For the first time the Mogul spoke roughly to his visitor, "set on it an angrie countenance: told mee I had broken my word: that he would trust me no more." The ambassador bore the storm unflinchingly, saying that he had done no wrong, and that if he had seemed to act offensively it had been done in ignorance. Before long, the Prince grew cool again, "offered his friendship and wee were all reconciled fully, and promises too large;" and the distribution of the presents sealed the reconciliation. On the following day the Prince received the ambassador with all courtesy, gave him a handsome cloak, and "promised to be the Protector of our Nation in all things."

In the middle of February, 1618, Roe made his yearly report to the Company (p. 466). By this time he had abandoned all hopes of securing the signature of a formal treaty; but he trusted to obtain all that was practically necessary. "You can neuer expect to trade here vpon Capitulations that shalbe permanent. Wee must serue the tyme. Some now I haue gotten, but by way of *firmaens* and Promise from the Kynge. All the Gouer-

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ment dependes vpon the present will, where appetite only gouerns the lordes of the kingdome. But their Justice is generallie good to strangers ; they are not rigorous, except in scearching for thinges to please, and what trouble wee haue is for hope of them, and by our owne disorders." "You shalbe sure," he added emphatically, "of as much priuiledge as any stranger, and right when the subiect dares not plead his" (p. 469). With the Prince, now all-powerful ("his father growes dull and suffers him to write all Commandes and to gouerne all his kingdomes") the ambassador was on much better terms. The policy of "aduenturing the feircnes of his wrath" had answered so well that Roe was resolved, if necessary, to push matters boldly to an issue. It was useless to attempt to win the friendship of the natives by kindly treatment; "they are weary of vs . . . Wee haue empouerished the Portes and wounded all their trades" (p. 468); the only dependence was upon "the same ground that wee began and by which wee subsist, feare" (p. 469). "Assure you," he wrote, "I knowe these People are best treated with the swoord in one hand and Caducean in the other" (p. 485); and if his demands were not complied with to his satisfaction, he intended to seize the native shipping "and make those conditions bee offered which now I seeke with despayre."

Fortunately, it was not in the end found necessary to push matters to extremity; but at the time the adoption of a vigorous policy seemed the more necessary, as Roe feared that the Dutch might "doe it first and then hee wilbe the braue man." The prospect of their competition at Surat, Roe viewed with indignation and apprehension ; "They wrong you in all Parts," he said, "and grow to insuffrable insolencies. . . . You must speedelye looke to this Maggat ; els wee talke of the Portugall, but these will eate a woorme in your sides . . . If they

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keepe you out of the Molluccoes by force, I would beat them from Surat to requite it" (p. 481). As regards their other European rivals, there was not much to report. Father Corsi, the Jesuit at Court, had made some efforts to accommodate matters; and Roe, who knew that "want of a peace with them . . . makes all these trades of Indya and hopes of Persia heauy and dangerous to the vndertakers" (p. 497), was willing, and even anxious, to conclude an arrangement if it could be done without loss of dignity, and with any assurance of permanence. The deputation of a Portuguese officer to Ahmadábád "to congratulate in the Name of the King of Spayne," appeared to afford an opportunity; but the Mogul refused to receive the envoy, "Principally because his Presents were not of great valew," and the matter had perforce to be left in abeyance.

The diary having now come to an end, we are left dependent upon a few letters for information regarding the last year of Roe's stay in India. In February, 1618, the Mogul started for a short hunting tour, and this seems to have afforded the ambassador an opportunity for a flying visit to Burhánpur. He returned to Ahmadábád about the beginning of May, and in the same month an outbreak of plague in that city caused much alarm; with the exception of Roe himself, all the members of the English party took the infection, and seven died in little more than a week. In August, preparations commenced for the departure of the Mogul for Agra. Roe, "infinitely weary of this vnprofitable imployment," had no wish to accompany him; his continued presence at Court could do no good, and the ships which were to carry him home would shortly be arriving. He therefore took formal leave of the monarch to whom he had been accredited, receiving from him a letter to King James full of compliments and assurances of good usage of the English, and also a general

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farmán "for our reception and Continuation in his domynyons," the exact terms of which are unknown (p. 516). He then addressed himself to the Prince, in order to procure a special *farmán* for Surat. Fresh quarrels had occurred between the natives and the Portuguese. In the end these were amicably settled; but meanwhile Roe endeavoured to make use of the opportunity by offering to protect the Gujaráti shipping in return for the concessions desired. These demands were kept strictly within the bounds of moderation; in Roe's own words (p. 508): "after almost three yeares experience of the pride and falshood of these people, that attended only aduantage and were gouerned by priuat interest and appetite, I was forced to relinquish many poynts often insisted vpon, when I could gett nothing, and to make offer of these few as the most necessarie to settle a trade and which might giue the least offence and might pass with ease, leauing the rest to the Generall order of the kyng." Even then he did not obtain all his demands; but at last, after a vigorous contest and the usual attempt to deceive him with an incomplete and ambiguously worded *farmán*; he procured a grant which was reasonably satisfactory. The Prince's amity towards the English was publicly acknowledged; in case of an attack by the Portuguese, the local authorities were ordered to assist them with boats or any other requisites: they were to be allowed to trade freely, and former abuses in the levying of customs were not to be repeated: jewels were to be admitted free of duty: no tolls were to be levied on goods passing to the port: the factors were to be permitted, under certain restrictions, to hire any house they pleased for a factory: liberty was given them to govern themselves according to their own religion and laws, and any refugee was to be surrendered, even if he had embraced Islám; and the ever-recurring difficulty about presents was provided

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against. Liberty to buy or build a permanent dwelling was, however, obstinately refused; and a determined attempt was made to limit the number of Englishmen permitted to wear arms in the city. On the latter point Roe was determined not to yield; and partly by threats, and partly by giving a written undertaking "that during the abode of the English at Suratt they shall do no wrong or hurt to any," he at last obtained the withdrawal of the obnoxious clause.

This grant procured, towards the close of September, 1618, the ambassador took his departure for Surat, where four months were spent awaiting the completion of the lading of the ships. At length all was in readiness, and on February 17, 1619, the fleet put to sea, Roe himself being on board the *Anne*. At the Cape he learned that negotiations were proceeding in London for a settlement of the differences between the English and Dutch Companies; and he thereupon wrote to Bantam earnestly deprecating any further hostilities. Towards the end of August the *Anne* reached Plymouth, and a fortnight later she anchored in the Downs. The ambassador's journey to London, attended from Gravesend by the leading members of the East India Company, his audience of the King at Hampton Court to report the result of his mission and to deliver the presents sent by the Great Mogul, and his subsequent interviews with the Company, will be found fully described in the extracts with which our text concludes. His employers appear to have been fully satisfied with his proceedings; and if they were not so liberal in rewarding his exertions as he had hoped, they were not unduly sparing. He was presented with a gratuity of 1500*l.*, besides a further sum of 100*l.* which had been lent to him to buy plate at his departure for India; and he was appointed for that year (and, it would seem, for the year following) an extra "committee" with an allowance of 200*l.* per annum.

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The question naturally arises: What had Roe achieved? How far had he accomplished the task which he had been sent out to perform? Most writers have been content to answer vaguely that he obtained valuable concessions, without specifying either their nature or their extent. Bruce, however, the Company's historiographer, goes a step further. He gives a summary of the "articles" printed on p. 152, and says that soon after the ambassador's arrival he procured the signatures of Jahángír and Khurram to this "phirmaund or treaty between the Mogul and the English nation;" all further troubles Bruce puts down to the contumacy of the Governor of Surat, who (he says) refused to carry out the agreement entered into by his sovereign (*Annals of the East India Company*, vol. i, pp. 176, 185, 203). How far this is from the truth the foregoing summary will show. Roe's proposed treaty had, in fact, been rejected with scorn, and he had been obliged to content himself with *farmáns;* although, soon after his arrival, he had contemptuously said that "ordinary *firmanes* are not woorth a halfe penny" He himself was studiously moderate in his statements as to his success, and chose rather to put in the forefront of his achievements the successful initiation of trade in the Red Sea. Yet, after all, he had effected a great deal; and where he had failed the failure was due to causes which were quite beyond his control. At his arrival he had found the English in a precarious position: threatened by the Portuguese, plundered by the native officials, and in imminent danger of expulsion owing to the ill-will of Prince Khurram. Local feeling, which had been for a time in their favour, was now against them, for their active competition injured the trade of the native merchants, while the unruliness of the sailors of the fleets, together with the troubles caused by the hostilities between the Portuguese and the English,

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estranged the great body of the inhabitants. The coming of the ambassador stemmed the tide of reaction; it shifted the principal area of contention to the Court, where local feelings had little influence, and where, if "the King and Prince and great men . . . . are pleased, the Crie of a Million of subiects would not bee heard" (p. 480); the provincial authorities were restrained from acts of oppression by fear of representations at headquarters; and thus time was given for the English to root themselves firmly in the country and to accustom the natives to their presence. By the time Roe left India, this had been accomplished; all danger from the Portuguese appeared to have passed away; concessions had been obtained, which "he thought as much in generall as he could expect or desire" (p. 524); and a good understanding had been established with the Court. All this was largely due to Roe's energy and skill, and to the favourable impression he had made upon the Mogul and his son. It was indeed a fortunate circumstance for the future of English influence in India, that while the Portuguese interests were in the charge merely of an ecclesiastic, amiable and clever though he was, England had for her representative one who was not only an able diplomatist, suave and ready, but also a man of resolute character, prepared indeed to yield in small matters, but firm as steel and utterly regardless of consequences where the honour of his king and nation was concerned. Jahángír and Sháh Jáhán, with all their faults, could and did appreciate such qualities, and English prestige, already growing by the victories obtained over the Portuguese, was raised to a high pitch by Roe's gallant bearing and indomitable will. "There can be," wrote Terry, "no dealing with this King upon very sure terms, who will say and unsay, promise and deny. Yet we Englishmen did not at all suffer by that inconstancy of his, but there found a free trade, a peaceable residence, and

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a very good esteem with that King and people; and much the better (as I conceive) by reason of the prudence of my Lord Ambassador, who was there (in some sense) like Joseph in the Court of Pharoah, for whose sake all his nation there seemed to fare the better." Roe was, in fact, the first of the long line of remarkable Englishmen who by their ability, their force of character, their unselfish adherence to lofty aims, have built up the British dominion in India; and looking down the ranks of his successors, it is not too much to say that few have equalled, none has surpassed him.

The value to the historical student of Roe's observations has been generally recognised. Nowhere else is to be found so full and so trustworthy an account of the events of the time at the Mogul Court: the desultory war in the Deccan: the impending troubles in regard to the succession: the waning of the hopes cherished by the partisans of Khusrú and Parwíz, and the rise to all but supreme power of Khurram, strengthened at first by the steady support of Núr Mahál and her family. Of all the principal personages concerned (except, of course, the Queen, whom Roe never saw) we have vivid portraits: of the weak but amiable Jahángír: of his unfortunate eldest son, whose long captivity and reported excellencies excited great pity in the breast of the ambassador: of the drunken and worthless Parwíz: of Ásaf Khán, avaricious, crafty, and unscrupulous: and finally of Khurram (Sháh Jahán), the coming emperor, who, cold and haughty, moves through Roe's pages with a magnificence that suits well the future master-builder of Agra and Delhi. With welcome minuteness, Roe portrays Jahángír's mode of living, both at Ajmere, where the functions of government were discharged with the same

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state as at Agra, and on the march, when all unnecessary parade was abandoned and sport was the order of the day. The splendours of the birthday reception, the vast yet orderly army that followed the emperor, the wealth of the royal treasury, astonished Roe. But he was too shrewd to allow this pomp and glitter to blind him to the real state of the country, and he brings out clearly in his Journal and letters the darker shades of the picture—the poverty and misery of the peasant, the general unrest and insecurity, the corruption and inefficiency of the local governors, and the looseness of the imperial control. He saw clearly, too, the forces which were making for disintegration; and though "the tyme when all in these kingdomes wilbe in combustion" (pp. 283, 295) was not so near as he imagined, yet it was only postponed by the force of character of Sháh Jahán and his still more capable son. All these things are noted by one whose position gave him exceptional advantages for exercising his powers of observation, and the result is a picture of "Mogolls India" of supreme interest and importance.

There are many other attractive topics in Roe's Journal and letters, but over most of them we must not linger. Two, however, bulk so largely in his pages, and are in themselves so important, that it is impossible to pass them by. These are the attempts made, largely under Roe's direction, to open up commerce, first in the dominions of the Sháh of Persia, and secondly at the Turkish ports in the Red Sea.

Sháh Abbás of Persia, at the instigation probably of the famous adventurers, Thomas and Robert Sherley, had long been desirous of opening up communication with one or other of the Christian powers, partly in the hope of obtaining assistance in his perennial war against the Turks, but principally with the idea of finding purchasers for the silk of his country, the export of which (a royal

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monopoly) he was desirous of diverting from its usual channel through the dominions of his enemy. With this end in view, he had, in 1608, despatched Sir Robert Sherley to Europe as his ambassador. Travelling through Russia, Germany, and Italy, Sherley reached Madrid, where he did his best to induce Philip III (who, it will be remembered, was King of Portugal as well as of Spain) to enter into an arrangement by which the silk trade would be diverted to Ormus or some neighbouring port on the Persian Gulf. His proposals, however, were coldly received; and in disgust he crossed to England, and in October, 1611, presented himself to King James at Hampton Court. Here also nothing came of his negotiations. The East India merchants were not to be persuaded: "the way is long and dangerous," they said: "the trade uncertain and must quite cut off our traffic with the Turk;" and insinuations were not wanting that Sherley had no valid commission to pledge his master to so far-reaching a scheme. At the bidding of King James a ship was prepared to carry back the ambassador, which landed him, in September, 1613, at Láríbandar; and thence he proceeded overland to Persia by way of Ajmere, where he paid a visit to Jahángír. Roe, it may be noted, had been present at the conferences which had been held in London upon Sherley's proposals; had heard both his arguments and the merchants' objections; and had formed his own opinion as to Sherley's character and the feasibility of his plans.[1]

The next move was made by the factors at Surat. Induced mainly by the favourable report of trade

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[1] "I vnderstand that busines well, beeing present at all Sheirlyes offers to his Majestie, who neuer would speake of bringing downe silke vnder halfe mony and such a quantetye" (*Roe to Surat Factors*, June 19, 1616: *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 102). In the same letter he says of Sherley, "as hee is dishonest, soe is hee subtile."

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prospects given by Richard Steel, who had crossed Persia from Aleppo in the preceding summer, they, in November, 1614, determined to despatch representatives to make investigations and to obtain the grant of privileges for trade. Steel himself and a factor named Crowder were chosen for this task. They reached Ispahan in September, 1615, and found there Sherley, to whom they carried letters soliciting his assistance. He was on the point of starting on a second mission to Spain, to make a fresh attempt to induce the King to accept the offers of the Sháh; but, with some reluctance, he procured for them three identical *farmáns*, ordering the governors of seaport towns to receive and assist any English vessels that might present themselves. One of these was sent to Jáshak (the port represented as most suitable for their purpose), Steel carried a second overland to England, and Crowder, as arranged before their departure, returned with the third to India, to report their proceedings to the agent at Surat.

Letters written by the two envoys, announcing their success and the hopes they had formed of a lucrative trade, reached Ajmere on February 10, 1616, addressed to Aldworth and Edwards. As the former was dead and the latter had left for England, these letters were opened by Roe, who lost no time in apprising the Company of their contents, at the same time giving his own views on the matter. The *farmán* which had been procured he thought "of no consequence," as no trade worth speaking of was to be had upon the coast and it was not to be expected that the Sháh would send down his silk until a formal agreement had been arrived at. To Roe it seemed that the dominant factor of the situation was Sherley's fresh mission to Europe. Already the Portuguese had an immense advantage in their possession of Ormus; and if the trade monopoly

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which he was empowered to offer to Philip were accepted (and Roe felt certain it would be) all efforts of the English to obtain a footing would be unavailing. The only hope lay either in defeating Sherley's negotiations at Madrid, or in effecting some amicable arrangement by which both nations should share in the trade. For the present, all that Roe considered it advisable to do was to write a respectful remonstrance to the Sháh, pointing out the perils of allowing the Portuguese to become masters of his coast, and urging him to establish a free port and to throw open the trade to all comers. This done, and the letter forwarded to the care of William Robbins, an Englishman resident in Ispahan, Roe turned his attention to other matters until further news should come from England.

Quite another view, however, was taken at Surat. The ambassador's action in opening and dealing with the letters from their delegates was warmly resented by Kerridge and his colleagues; while his disparaging remarks upon the results of the expensive mission which they had set on foot could not but be felt as a rebuke. The question of trade with Persia was, they considered, a matter purely commercial, and therefore outside Roe's province; and as soon as Pepwell's fleet brought in a further supply of men and goods, a consultation was held at which it was decided that a ship should be sent to Jáshak to test the value of the Sháh's *farmán*, and to procure, if possible, whatever further concessions were necessary. Edward Connock, the chief merchant of the new fleet, undertook the management of this mission, and sailed in the *James* early in November, 1616 (p. 330 *n*).

As may be imagined, Roe was exceedingly angry when he found out what had been done. Not only had his authority been ignored and his purpose crossed, but his opinions and counsels had been treated with contempt.

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Both publicly to the Company, and privately to its Governor, he complained bitterly of the behaviour of the factors: "You may now see their hast," he wrote, "and lack of respect to mee." Personal feeling, however, was never allowed by him to injure the public service; and however much he felt inclined to throw upon the factors the responsibility for further action, he determined to do what he could to set matters straight. "If I left them as they are, it were just," he said, "but I am to account to you, and therfore . . . I will looke out to mend their faults, and, like patient Job, pray and sacrifice for them, as he did for his sonnes whiles they banquetted." His hand been forced by the despatch of the *James*, and with Connock already on his way to the Persian Court, inaction was impossible. After consulting the Sháh's ambassador at Ajmere, and enlisting his advocacy he wrote again to Ispahan. The ship which had been sent, he told Robbins, was "but to trye and settle our enterteynment," and he hoped the Sháh "will not judge vs by this beginning:" if the necessary privileges were granted (a draft of which he enclosed) "wee will then roundly and duly fullfill his desire" (p. 373). Roe strongly urged Robbins to endeavour to obtain the required concessions; and concluded by intimating that possibly he himself would receive by the next fleet instructions to proceed to Persia and bring matters to a conclusion.

Meanwhile the Company at home, though of course unaware of the despatch of Connock to Jáshak, had had the advantages of the trade urged upon them by Steel, and had received Roe's first letter on the subject. After due deliberation and an interview with the Lords of the Council, they decided to go forward in the matter, though cautiously, in view of the risks and the large capital required, much of which, it was feared, would have to be sent in specie (p. 421 *n*). Their instructions to Roe (see Appendix B)

directed him to make careful inquiry into the prospects of trade, and, if satisfied, to despatch a fit person to conclude, upon certain conditions, the requisite agreement with the Sháh. With these instructions came a letter from King James, approving of the measures already taken by Roe and authorising him to sign a treaty with the Persian monarch.

These letters, brought by Pring's fleet in the autumn of 1617, settled satisfactorily the question of control. It was now open to Roe, if he chose, to disavow Kerridge's nominee (of whose character he had grave suspicions), and either to make one of the other factors in Persia his representative or to despatch someone from India to take charge of the negotiations. But, having carried his point, he acted with his usual moderation and good sense. The question whether a ship should be sent to Jáshak to obtain news of the previous year's mission he left to Pring and Kerridge to decide; but in case they should determine to do so, he forwarded a commission and instructions empowering Connock and his fellows to undertake the necessary negotiations with the Sháh.

The *Bee* was accordingly despatched to the Gulf, and from the intelligence she brought back in January, 1618, supplemented by letters which arrived overland a few weeks later, Roe learned what had taken place since the landing of Connock and his companions in December, 1616. From Jáshak the factors had made their way to Shiraz, whence their leader pushed on to Ispahan. On his arrival (May, 1617) he found that the Sháh was with the army on the Turkish border, and thither he determined to follow him; but first he made friends with Robbins, who handed over to him all the papers he had received from Roe, including the draft articles intended for presentation to the Sháh. Accompanied by Robbins and a factor named Tracy, Connock set out for the Court about the

beginning of July. They were well received by the Sháh, in spite of the efforts of a friar who was acting in the interests of Spain; and the English envoy obtained without difficulty the grant for which he asked.[1] With this he returned to Ispahan, and thence started for the coast, to meet the shipping which he expected would be sent towards the close of the year. But sickness had laid hold of him, as of most of his comrades, and he died at a village near Jáshak, on December 24, 1617, a little more than a year from the date of his landing.[2]

The concessions he had obtained did not cover all the points mentioned in the Company's instructions lately received; and this rendered it necessary that fresh negotiations should be undertaken. On the return of the *Bee*, therefore, Roe drew up fresh directions for Thomas Barker (who was now the head of the factory in Persia) and Edward Monnox, empowering them to conclude and sign a fresh contract (p. 462). These he had intended to send by the *Anne*, which was to call at Jáshak on her way to Mocha; but this course was found to be impracticable. To the Company he wrote that, although if the trade could be managed without a great export of specie, "it is the best trade of all India and will yeild you most certeyne Profitt," yet he could see "no way sure but a Composition in Spayne," and were this effected there would be no need of any special bargain with the Sháh (pp. 474-5).

On the arrival of the 1618 fleet Roe despatched the

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[1] No copy of this grant can be found among the contemporary English records at the India Office. What appears, however, to be a copy (in French, undated) forms No. 117 of vol. iii of the *Hague Transcripts* (Series 1).

[2] The climate proved equally fatal to his two immediate successors, Thomas Barker, who died at the end of November, 1619, and William Bell, who succumbed, at the early age of 33, in February, 1624. The tomb of the latter, in the Armenian burial-ground at Julfa, was still standing in 1865, when Sir Frederic Goldsmid copied the Latin inscription (*Telegraph and Travel*, p. 562).

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Expedition to Jáshak with a further supply of goods; but she brought back news that was far from satisfactory. The factors were quarrelling violently among themselves ("of all those I saw," wrote the commander of the ship, "one cannot giue thother a good worde"); Barker had been to Court, but had failed to obtain any further concessions; the Shah had been forced by the Turks to a disadvantageous peace, and schemes for a monopoly of the silk trade, either to the English or the Portuguese, had had perforce to be laid aside; he had expressed his willingness, however, to exchange silk for any quantity of goods the English might bring, though he would not sign any formal contract.

Thus matters stood at the time of Roe's departure, and thus he was forced to leave them. The results obtained had by no means answered the sanguine expectations which had first been formed; yet he saw no reason to despair. There appeared to be a reasonable probability of finding in Persia a fresh outlet for English goods—a point which he regarded as of vital importance, for India itself could absorb but a small quantity—while silk was in Europe a most profitable commodity. The *Anne*, in which he returned, carried home a quantity of Persian silk which was sold at a high price; and estimates then laid before the Company (*Court Minutes*, Nov. 9, 1619) placed the profit to be made at from 50 to 90 per cent. per annum.

The trade to Persia, though a matter in which Roe took the closest interest, had practically been initiated by the Surat factors, of whose proceedings he could not always approve. There was, however, another development of the Company's commerce—that to Mocha—in which the position was reversed, Roe urging and carrying it through, while Kerridge and his companions somewhat unwillingly acquiesced. Long before the English flag had waved in Indian waters, the merchants of Cambay and Surat had

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carried on a profitable intercourse with the Red Sea ports. Not only was the pilgrim traffic large and important, but it was accompanied by a lucrative interchange of products. Merchants from Aleppo and Cairo bought eagerly all Eastern commodities, and paid for them partly in European goods, but mostly in gold and silver. The latter circumstance was, in Roe's eyes, a special recommendation. As already noted, the demand in India for English goods was comparatively small, and hence the trade involved a heavy drain of silver from home—a drain which had already seriously alarmed the economists of the time, and had excited an outcry against the Company (p. 165 *n*). Roe, who honestly thought the export of silver from Europe a great evil, saw in the Red Sea trade a means of mitigating it. Let a ship be yearly sent, he argued, from Surat to the Red Sea ports, and she would not only get rid of some English goods which would not otherwise be sold, but in return for these and for spices, calicoes, etc., she would bring back specie enough to help materially towards lading the ships for home. And, besides this, the move would have a powerful political effect; for the Red Sea trade was the principal dependence of the Gujarát merchants. Roe was sanguine that they would be glad either to freight goods in the English vessels, or at least to pay for the protection afforded by their company; and in any case the power which the latter would possess of taking the native junks at their pleasure would be a powerful lever for securing proper treatment at Surat and elsewhere. To those who objected the treachery of which Sir Henry Middleton had been the victim when he visited Mocha on a similar errand in 1610, Roe replied that that was due to a misunderstanding; and he pointed to the success of the Dutch, who had since made a lucrative voyage to Mocha and had experienced handsome treatment. The *Anne* was accordingly fitted out, and despatched on March 17, 1618,

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in company with a Surat junk (p. 495 *n*). In September she returned, with a favourable account of her reception, and *farmáns* and letters encouraging a renewal of the enterprise; and to reply to those letters and to despatch his answer by a fresh ship, the *Lion*, was one of the last of Roe's acts before leaving Surat (p. 515 *n*). How much Roe hoped from this commerce will be seen from his report to the Company on his return (p. 523); and, although, perhaps, he had not made sufficient allowance for the resentment which was sure to be aroused at Surat by this unwelcome competition with the native merchants, he is certainly entitled to count to his credit the establishment of what afterwards became an important branch of the Company's commerce.

The period of his employment in India was for Roe only the commencement of a long and honourable career. It would carry us too far to detail his subsequent history, nor should it be necessary in the case of one who played so important a part in the politics of his time.[1] After a short period of service in Parliament, he was again sent (1621) on a mission to the East, this time to the Grand Signior. At Constantinople he repeated the success he had obtained in India, by restoring English prestige and placing English commerce on a sounder footing; while his influence at the Porte secured the conclusion of a treaty between Turkey and Poland, and the rejection of proposals from Spain which he judged inimical to English interests. Another result of his embassy was the presentation to King James, by Roe's friend the Greek Patriarch, of the celebrated *Codex Alexandrinus*, which is now one of the glories of the British Museum. His success was, in

[1] The best and most recent account is contained in Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

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fact, too complete for his own convenience; for in spite of his appeals to be allowed to return, his tenure of office was prolonged, and it was not until the spring of 1628 that he obtained his release. His next employment (June, 1629) was the negotiation of a truce between Sweden and Poland. This he successfully accomplished; and his intercourse with Gustavus Adolphus bore further fruit in the following year in that monarch's appearance in Germany as champion of the Protestant faith. Meanwhile, Roe had been warmly received on his return by his own sovereign, who presented him with a gold medal as a token of his approval; and when, early in 1632, the death occurred of his old friend Carleton (created Viscount Dorchester in 1626), Roe looked forward with some confidence to the vacant secretaryship. His opinions, however, were far too liberal to please King Charles and his advisers, and the post was given to Laud's friend, Windebank. Bitterly disappointed, Roe withdrew into the country, and for the next few years lived in retirement. In January, 1637, a tardy recognition of his services was made in his appointment to the Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter, to which a year later a pension was added. At the congress for peace negotiations which sat successively at Hamburg, Ratisbon, and Vienna, Roe represented England, and he is said to have made such an impression upon the Emperor that the latter exclaimed: "I have met with many gallant persons of many nations, but I scarce ever met with an *ambassador* till now." In June, 1640, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and in the same year he re-entered Parliament as one of the members for Oxford. A fresh mission to Germany (1641), however, prevented him for some time from taking a very active part in the deliberations of the Commons; and when he was once more free to devote himself to parliamentary duties, events rapidly led up to a crisis which placed him in a position of great difficulty. Whatever

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his convictions, he could not fight against his sovereign, the son of his old master, the brother of his dearly-loved patrons; and in July, 1643, he obtained permission from the Commons to retire to Bath for the improvement of his health. This was almost his last journey. In the tender words of Anthony à Wood, "at length this worthy person Sir Thomas Roe did after all his voyages and ramblings take a little breath; but soon after, seeing how untowardly things went between the king and his parliament, did willingly surrender it to Him that first gave it, on the 6th day of November in 1644, and two days after that his body was buried privately in the church at Woodford, near to Wansted in Essex" (*Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, vol. iii, p. 114).

An admirable Latin epitaph was written by Dr. Gerard Langbaine for inscription on his tomb, but, though Roe's widow survived him over thirty years, no monument was erected over his remains; and now, the church having been rebuilt and enlarged in 1815-16, even the spot where they lie is uncertain. Nor has this omission been entirely made good by the more lasting memorial which can flow from the pen of the historian. Of late years, however, some efforts have been made to do justice to his memory, notably by the greatest living authority on the history of those times, Dr. Samuel Gardiner; and we are promised a biography by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, to which we may look forward with confidence that at last Roe's merits will receive their due meed of praise.

How great those merits were may be shown by the testimonies of three writers of a later day, and with these we may fitly take our leave of him. Carte, the historian, after reading through Roe's papers, wrote in March, 1737: "I cannot sufficiently admire his Rare Abilities, judgement and Integrity, his Extraordinary Sagacity in discovering the views and designs of those with whom he treated, and

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his admirable dexterity in guarding against their Measures and bringing them over to his purpose. Wise, Experienced, penetrating and knowing, he was never to be surprized or deceived, and though no Minister ever had greater difficulties to struggle with or was employed by a Court that had less power to Support him, yet he Supported all his Employments with dignity and came out of them with Reputation and honour. In all the honest Arts of Negociation he had few Equalls, (I dare say) no Superiors."[1] More than half-a-century before, David Lloyd had written in his *State Worthies* (London, 1670), pp. 1036-37: "Sir Thomas Roe understood the dispositions of men so exactly, could suit their humours so fitly, observe opportunities and seasons of actions so punctually, keep correspondence so warily, wade through difficulties so handsomly, wave the pinch of a business so dexterously, contrive Interests so suitably, that he was advised with concerning the most important Affairs of the Kingdoms he resided in abroad, and admitted of the Privy-Council while he lived at home—Where his speech against the debasing of the Coyn at the Council-Table will last as long as there is *reason of State* in the World: His settlement of Trade as long as this is an Island: and his Eastern MSS. as long as there are Books to furnish Libraries, or Libraries to preserve Books." And finally we may quote the testimony of Anthony à Wood: "Those that knew him well have said that there was nothing wanting in him towards the accomplishment of a scholar, gentleman, or courtier; that also, as he was learned, so was he a great encourager and promoter of learning and learned men. His spirit was generous and public, and his heart faithful to his prince. He was a great statesman, as good a commonwealth's man and as sound a Christian as our

[1] Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6190, f. 34.

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nation hath had in many ages" (*Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, vol. iii, p. 113).

It may be of interest to endeavour, before concluding, to trace the history of Roe's manuscripts and to note briefly the bibliography of his Journal. On the first of these two points, we have unfortunately but scanty evidence to go by. The original notes, we may suppose, were jotted down roughly from day to day, possibly on loose sheets, which would naturally be destroyed when they had served their purpose. The next step would be to have a fair copy made for the ambassador's use; and this seems to have been done in folio volumes, of which there must have been at least two (cp. p. 383). The first, containing the diary and letters to February 11, 1617, and further letters to October 9 of the same year,[1] has survived, and forms the basis of the present text; the remaining volume or volumes have disappeared. As, apparently, the first part was available to Purchas (who says he copied most of the letters he gives "from Sir Thomas Roe's own book"), while the rest was not, we may conjecture that Roe had taken all but the first section to Constantinople. The volumes thus separated were never, it would seem, re-united; for when, in 1629, Roe wanted to refer to his Journal for some purpose, he was obliged to borrow the East India Company's copies.[2] The first volume reappears for a short time at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the editor of Churchill's *Voyages* (1704) republished Roe's Journal

[1] Roe refers to this volume on p. 466.

[2] "Sir Thomas moved the Court that Master Ellam may be enordred to lend him for a short time certaine Iournalls of his owne and bookes of the Coppies of Letters, because he hath at present speciall occasion to vse them. The Court was Content that Master Ellam shold lend them to Sir Thomas accordinglie" (*Court Minutes*, February 4, 1629).

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"with considerable additions . . . . taken from his own original manuscript."[1] It is true that he refers also to "a vast multitude" of letters "still preserved *in two volumes*," and this might appear to imply that he had seen not only the first but also the missing second volume. An examination of his text, however, shows that for events subsequent to February, 1617, he depends entirely on Purchas's version of the Journal; he goes no further than Purchas, and says that the rest is lost; and the letters he gives are all contained in the extant volume. A possible explanation is that the latter was at that time in two separate books, which have since been bound together.

From this date all trace of the MS. is lost for another century. In March, 1737, Richardson the novelist tendered to the newly-founded Society for the Encouragement of Learning the "original papers and letters of Sir Thomas Roe," offering to bear part of the expense of publishing them;[2] but it is expressly noted by Carte the historian (who was asked to report upon them) that "there is nothing therein about his Embassy to the Great Mogul, but two Letters of that Emperor and King James's Instructions and Letters of Credance to Sir Thomas Rowe," with three letters from King James, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Secretary Winwood, all relating to the proposed trade with Persia, together with four long letters from the Earl of Totnes, giving Europe news.[3] At last,

[1] The reference is vague, but the identification is rendered tolerably certain by the fact that, in the entry for November 3, 1615, where our two extant MSS. differ, Churchill's version follows the wrong reading in *Addl. MS.* 6115.

[2] The correspondence is in the British Museum collection (*Addl. MS.* 6190). The papers offered by Richardson were to have been published in five volumes, but the scheme failed for want of support after the appearance, in 1740, of the first volume (*Negotiations with the Ottoman Porte*, 1621-28).

[3] Most of these are now in the Public Record Office. The first five have been printed in this edition. The newsletters from Lord Carew (he was not created Earl of Totnes until ten years later) were edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Maclean in 1860.

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however, the first volume came again to light, and found a final resting-place in our great national collection. In a letter dated January 4, 1817, the Rev. J. Coltman, curate of Beverley Minster, without saying how he became possessed of it, presented it to the British Museum, where it is known as *Addl. MS.* 6115. It is a thick volume of about 288 folios, beautifully written in a neat, clerkly hand,[1] and is in excellent preservation.

Besides the fair copy made for his own use, Roe had others prepared from time to time to send to England. To Lord Carew, for instance, he sent, in January, 1616, a copy extending to the date of his arrival at Burhánpur (p. 110), and later on a further portion. Neither of these is extant. To the Company he sent regular batches as the opportunity occurred. The despatch of several of these we can trace. Thus, one portion was sent home with Roe's letter of November 24, 1615 (see p. 94); another, continuing the story to November 19, 1616, went a year later (p. 340); and a third was despatched in the middle of February, 1618 (p. 466). The portion for the concluding year of his embassy Roe would naturally take home with him, having no opportunity of sending it before, except perhaps by the uncertain route overland. Whether this last portion got beyond the stage of rough notes,[2] and if so, whether Roe ever delivered a fair copy to the Company, cannot now be determined; but it is plain that the copy if it existed, had gone astray before Purchas came upon the scene.

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[1] The official catalogue states that it is in Roe's own hand. This, however, is a mistake; for a comparison of the writing shows that the scribe was Edward Heynes, Roe's secretary (see p. 491 *n*).

[2] It is quite possible that it did not, at all events while Roe remained in India. Even before Heynes's departure for Mocha, the ambassador could "find him woorke day and Night" (cp. also p. 466), and after the loss of his services Roe had a difficulty even in keeping copies of his letters (p. 505).

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It was in 1622 that the reverend geographer, in search of materials for his *Hakluytus Posthumus: or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, applied to the Company for permission to use their collection of logs, and especially Roe's Journal.[1] We have inferred that he already had access to the first part of the diary from Roe's own copy, and it was probably the later portions only that he needed. He could not have seen, however, more than the three sections which we have already described as having been sent home in 1616-18, for he expressly states that he could find nothing later than January 22, 1618. He had inquired diligently for the rest, "but neither with the Honourable Company nor elsewhere could learn of it." This points strongly to the correctness of our surmise that Roe brought home the fourth section only in rough, and never found the opportunity to have it fairly copied for the Company, or perhaps for himself.

The three sections which the Company did receive have long since vanished from their records. Bruce does not appear to have seen them when compiling his *Annals*, early in the present century. If we mistake not, however, the first of the three is now in the British Museum. *Addl. MS.* 19277, purchased in 1852 at the Arley Castle sale, is a contemporary transcript of the

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[1] The entry in the *Court Minutes* (February 27, 1622) is worth quoting in full:—"Master Deputie [Maurice Abbot] further acquainted the Courte that one Purchas that wrote of the Religions of all Nacions hath now vndertaken a greate volume of all there voyages and did desire to haue a sight of some of the Companies Iournalls that might give him lighte for the settinge downe the Companies voyages into theast Indies, wherein he desires to see but the Historicall part and will medle with nothinge elce; *Particularly he desires to see Sir Thomas Roes Iournall.* As for the Broyles betweene the English and Dutch *he will sett them downe otherwise then they lie in the Iournalls.* The Courte gaue waie to his desire; onely they ordered that Master Ellam and Master Lanman shall take care that nothinge be taken out of their Iournalls but that which is proper to a History and not preiudiciall to the Companie; and they entreated Master Deputy that he would take paines to pervse the notes before they were carried out of the howse."

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Diary from the beginning to the departure from Burhánpur; and both the character and handwriting of the marginal abstracts subsequently added, and the manner in which the volume is labelled, leave little doubt that the manuscript formed at one time part of the Company's records. Thus the only two contemporary manuscripts of Roe's Journal known to be extant have found their way to the national collection.

As we have seen, it was in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (vol. i, p. 535) that Roe's Journal, with a few letters or portions of letters, was first given to the world; and practically it is this version which has formed the basis of all succeeding accounts of the embassy. It is therefore all the more to be regretted that the materials available were handled in such an unsatisfactory manner. When one remembers the difficulties, monetary and otherwise, under which the reverend geographer laboured, and the inestimable service he rendered by placing on record so much that would otherwise have perished, one is little inclined to join in the sweeping condemnation often passed upon him. But, it must be confessed that his editing of this particular journal is a very bad piece of work. That he should cut it down to a third or less was perhaps to be expected, in view of the restrictions of space imposed by his general plan; but that, while leaving untouched many trivialities (such as "the copy is registered," when he does not print the letter in question), he should excise passages vital to the comprehension of others which were allowed to stand: that his dates should often be wrong: and that the carelessness of his copyist (or his printer) should be allowed to make nonsense of important passages, will scarcely admit of excuse. However, as we have said, the difficulties in which his work was produced may be pleaded in his defence, and we must at least be grateful to him for having preserved for us

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extracts from nearly a full year of the Journal (1617-18), for which no manuscript account is now available.

Purchas's collection contained also (vol. ii, p. 1464) some notes by the Rev. Edward Terry, who had acted as Roe's chaplain during the greater part of his embassy; and these were subsequently expanded into a small volume, which was published in 1655. The bibliography of this work is given on p. 527; and nothing need be said here concerning it, except to note that it is frequently confused with Roe's own Journal, especially in the edition of 1665, where the name of the author is not given.

In 1656 a Dutch version of Roe's account, translated from Purchas, was published at Amsterdam in a small quarto of 126 pages, embellished with four quaint copper-plates. The next appearance of the diary was in the first volume of Thevenot's *Divers Voyages Curieux* (1663), where it is stated to have been translated "du Recüeil Anglois de Purchas." The editor has added a few notes, an extract from *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, three letters (also from Purchas), and Roe's geographical description of India, with the map.

In 1705 was published *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca; or a Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels*, by John Harris, A.M., F.R.S. In this (vol. i, book II, ch. xxx) is given an inaccurate and much compressed paraphrase of Roe's Journal, derived from Purchas. Great liberties are taken with the text, some of it being incorporated with Peyton's journal in ch. xxviii, and other portions amalgamated with extracts from Terry and others to form ch. xxxi. In Harris's second edition (1744) the narrative is entirely suppressed, and in lieu of it a short account of its contents is given in a chapter containing a general history of the Company's trade.

Meanwhile an attempt had been made to produce an entirely new edition. Having somehow procured, as already

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related, the first volume of Roe's own MS. copy, Messrs. Awnsham and John Churchill in 1704 made the Journal a special feature of the first volume of their *Collection of Voyages and Travels.* Roe's work, said the Preface, had already appeared in part, but "now he comes abroad again with considerable Additions, not foisted in, but taken from his own Original Manuscript, which it is likely Purchas had not, but some imperfect Copy of it. It is true, the Additions are not great in bulk . . . . but they are valuable for the subject . . . In fine, here is all that is valuable of Sir Thomas Roe, and nothing that may cloy the Reader." These are brave words, but the performance is far from bearing out the promise. "After an attentive comparison of these two former editions," wrote a subsequent editor (Robert Kerr), "it obviously appears that the edition by Purchas, in 1625, is in general more circumstantial and more satisfactory than that of Churchill . . . notwithstanding its superior pretensions;" and this verdict is entirely borne out by an examination of the latter. It is a veritable piece of hack-work, performed in most careless fashion. The additions are chiefly the dates of Roe's arrival at or departure from various places, though a few incidents are recorded which had been passed over by Purchas. On the other hand, the omissions (of which nothing is said in the Preface) are numerous and important. The events at Surat are told in eleven short lines; Roe's reception at Court is said to have been "very favourable, but needs not particularizing;" and all details of commercial matters and of Roe's negotiations are omitted. By these means the bulk of the narrative has been reduced to less than one-half of that of Purchas's version. The spelling has been modernised, and, not content with this, the editor has taken upon himself the task of improving Roe's diction. In the earlier portion of the work scarcely a sentence escapes alteration; but later on the editor's energy

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flags and changes are much less numerous. Dates are frequently given incorrectly, and the editor's knowledge is displayed by changing the Mogul's "shash" (turban-cloth, p. 322) into "staff." Four letters of Roe's, written all before November, 1616, his geographical account of India, and a note of presents asked for by him, are also included in the volume.

It is unnecessary to trouble the reader with a detailed account of subsequent versions, since they are all reproductions, more or less complete, of Purchas or Churchill. It may suffice to mention that the Journal appears in the collections of the Abbé Prévost (*Histoire Générale des Voyages*, Amsterdam edition, vol. xiii), Schwabe (*Allgemeine Historie der Reisen*, 1747 etc., vol. xi), Knox (*New Collection of Voyages*, 1767, vol. vi), Pinkerton (*General Collection of Voyages*, 1808-14, vol. viii), Kerr (*General History and Collection of Voyages*, 1811-24, vol. ix), and Laharpe (*Abrégé de l'Histoire Générale des Voyages* [Prévost's], 1816, vol. iv). Finally, in our own day, Purchas's version of the Journal appeared in serial form, under the care of the late Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in the Calcutta *Englishman;* and a small impression of this edition was issued in book form a few years later (1873), together with Dr. Fryer's *New Account of East India*, by Messrs Trübner and Co.

The present edition, as already mentioned, is based upon the only portion of Roe's own copy which has survived, viz., *Addl. MS.* 6115, in the British Museum Collection. This has been given in full, and consequently a large proportion (about two-thirds) appears now for the first time. A diligent search having failed to discover the rest of the journal in any known collection, it has been necessary, when the manuscript comes to an end, to fall

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back upon the mutilated version of Purchas, which carries on the narrative to January 22, 1618. For the remaining year of Roe's stay in India, we are almost entirely dependent upon his letters and such scraps of information as can be gathered from contemporary documents. In the Journal we have interspersed a number of the more important of Roe's letters, nearly all of which are now printed for the first time. It was impossible, within the space available, to include all that are extant; nor was this necessary, for many either deal with matters of detail which have now lost their interest, or else repeat what has been said elsewhere. For the same reasons it has been judged advisable to cut down most of the letters for which we have been able to find room. Each letter has, however, been carefully examined, and it is believed that nothing of real importance has been omitted. In many cases, passages for which room has not been found in the text have been utilised in the notes or in this introduction. *Addl. MS.* 19277—the other contemporary copy of Roe's manuscript, to which we have already alluded—has, of course, been collated (so far as it goes) with our text, and in a few cases its readings have been followed in preference to those of the principal manuscript. Where, also, two or more contemporary copies of the letters exist, these have been carefully compared, and any differences of importance noted. We may hope, therefore, that we have at least been able to present a text which may be accepted as trustworthy. The notes have been mainly devoted to giving additional particulars of the persons, places, or events alluded to. For the necessary information the editor is indebted largely to manuscript sources, such as, in the India Office Records, the *Surat letterbooks* and the *Original Correspondence* Series (now in course of publication under the title of *Letters received by the East India Company*

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from their Servants in the East), the *Court Minutes* of the East India Company, the logs of various voyages, and many miscellaneous documents; in the British Museum, Kerridge's letters (*Addl. MS.* 9366), and the journal kept by Walter Peyton, master of the *Expedition*, in the fleet which conveyed the ambassador to India (*Addl. MS.* 19276), have been of special service; and the Public Record Office has yielded several papers of importance, especially in the case of the documents grouped in Appendix B. Of printed books, the one most utilised has naturally been the *Voyage to East India*, by Edward Terry, Roe's chaplain, already mentioned. From this everything has been extracted that bears directly upon Roe's mission, as distinguished from the general disquisitions on things Indian which form the staple of that interesting work.

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THE

JOURNAL OF SIR THOMAS ROE

DURING

HIS EMBASSY TO INDIA.

(Brit. Mus.—*Addl. MS.* 6115.)

Observations according to the Table of Course.[1]

IT is necessary that shipping be ready in the downes to take oportunity of wynd by the 20th of January, that they may fale with the Cape of Good hope before the dead of wynter, wherby men may have some leasure of Refreshinges, and the sicke may recouer in the warme seasone; for in the wynter the ayre is sharpe and rawe, and those that daylie wade, and are often wett, endainger their healths; and if the Roote *Nangin*[2] be of valew, it must be

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[1] The "table of course", which occupies the first nine pages of the manuscript, and shews in tabular form the course, variation, latitude, longitude, leagues run, etc., from the 6th March to 17th September, has been omitted. It may be consulted in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, 1704, vol. i; but it contains nothing of general importance.

[2] *Nangin*, or *Ningin*, appears to be the Japanese name (see Thevenot's *Relations de divers Voyages Curieux*, 1696, i, pp. 11, 12, and Cocks' *Diary*, ii, p. 27) of a plant identical with, or allied to, the Chinese *ginseng* (radix ninsi, *Panax Schinseng*), a medicinal root highly esteemed in the East as a restorative, and possessing in consequence

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gathered in that Season, for when the sapp returnes, the roote is withered in the ground, and driing up shrinkes and comes to nothing. Besides, the Season wilbe better to gett aboute the Cape, subiecte to foule weather, and hereby they shall have tyme enough to staye at the Isles of Comoro, for new refreshing, which is necessarie, that men may come stronge and in health amonng their enemyes; for it is doubtfull that the Trade with the Mogull must be mayntayned with Armes. I wish the Coast from the Cape as high as Mosambique were discouered. It is veary probable ther is good matter, and doubtlesse braue Harbours. The Portugall hath trade for gould in a River[1] not far from Mosambique, and the people make fiers to any shipping they see, to invite them

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a considerable commercial value. Pieter Floris (Journal, in India Office Records; *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, i, p. 319), who had been enjoined by the Company to seek it on his outward voyage, met at the Cape (May 1611) two Dutch ships "expressely come thether for the same purpose, being one of Japan that fyrste discovered the secret". Floris found the plant, but the root was decayed and useless, "the right time of gathering the same being in December, January and February". He adds that the native name is *Canna.* Cocks (*Diary*, ii, pp. 286-7) mentions (without naming the root) that he received a consignment of it from the Cape in 1616, and says that the true sort comes from Corea, and is worth its weight in silver.

Peyton, in his journal (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 19276) of the present expedition, says that, on arrival at the Cape, "the contrye people brought vs downe of the roote Ningine, wherof wee bought one handfull for a pece copper qt. 1½ Inche broad and 2½ in length; alsoe our menn wear sent vpp to gather thearof, whoe brought downe a smal quantetie and not soe full nor rype as that of the contrye people. Of this roote wee procured but little, not being the season of the yeare at present, for being dryed it shrinks vpp to nothing but a tuffe skinn, whearas contrarywise, yf it had the full perfection of ripnes, it would be boeth full tender and sweete as anisseeds". Keeling (*O. C.*, No. 187: I. O. Records) reported to the Company that they had not been able to get together a peck of the root.

Ovington, who was at the Cape in 1693, mentions this herb under the name of *Nisan*, and says that a German physician whom he met there had planted in the Dutch garden some roots which he had procured in China; "yet 'tis affirmed," he says, "that this soil was no stranger to this Root before that this was Planted here." He states that its value in China was two hundred and seventy dollars the pound.

[1] The Zambezi. Cp. Linschoten's *Voyage*, ii, p. 31 (Hakluyt Soc. ed.).

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to Commerce. This were done easily by two pinnaces (who might with great hope leaue some men on that Coast) which after might goe into the Indies, and serue the Company to transport goods from harbor to harbor in Japan, Sumatra, Coromandell, or Jaua.

March 6.—This day wee lost sight of the Lizard, and begann our Course for the Cape of Good Hope.

March 26.—On this day in the Morning wee saw the Mayne of Barbery, making that for Fortauentura,[1] and then stood away S.W. by S. till Noone, and saw land N.W. for the Canarye 8 leauges off; then wee steerd S.S.W. all night.

March 27.—At 6 in the Morning Cape Bugador bare E. by S. 4 leaugs off; wherby wee found 30 leagues error in westerly way. This Cape lyeth in 26 lattitude, 353° 50′ longitude, differing from the Meridian of the Lizard 6° 10′ by Mercator's proiection, but I suppose it is layd 20 leagues to much to the E., the Canarye Islands in the same error.[2] The land to the Sowthward trendeth S.S.W.; for steering S.W. by S. I could not Cleare the land in 24 howers. So that when, on the 26 day, wee tooke our selues to bee betweene the Island, we were betweene the Mayne and Forteuentura, a sandy shoure, 16 fadome, 4 leagues off; and steering that day 6 howers S.W. by S. we could only discerne land in the Topp for the Canarye. Wheras, had wee bene with the Islands, we should with that Course from Forteuentura haue shott faire out by the

[1] One of the Canary Islands. The *Expedition* nearly ran ashore, having "muche adoe to perceaue the land, being but lowe", and the coast being wrongly laid in the charts (Peyton's Journal).

[2] Cape Bojador is about 9° 17′ W. from the meridian of the Lizard. Roe is therefore right as to its incorrect position in the chart referred to. The latter was probably "the platte of John Danyells making (being Mercators proiection)", which Peyton used, and censured as unreliable. Cp. also the journal of the Eleventh Voyage in *Purchas* (i, p. 486).

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canarye. The 27th at Noone the Mayne bearing E. in 26° 5 leaugs off, wee shaped our Course.

March 31.—From the Cape Bugador ther is a Currant that setts swift S.S.W., for from the 28 day to the 31th of March we had little wynd, yet by obseruation we raysed euery day aboue a degree; wherby I conclude the Current setts neare two leaugs a watch and more aboord the shoare.

April 5.—This day the sunne was in our Zenith, crossing the paralell at Midnight.

April 10.—This night we meett the Turnados next hand in 2°; the wynd at E. with a terrible Gust of Raine for two howers.

April 12.—This day a Counsell was held, wherin a Captain Complayned against his Master; the Playntiffe was satisfied, the accused aduanced, the inocent punished, all pleased.[1]

With the hinder foote of the Centaure, ther is a blacke spott like a lozenge which neuer alters shape nor motion from that part of the Constellation, but because it is inuironed with *Galaxia*, I suppose it is the skie, only darkened with much neighbouring brightnes.

April 14.—This night I passd the line; Cape de Golinus,[2] the next land, bearing N.N.E. half E. 158 leaugs off. In this course from Cape Bugador, the Current setts with the trending off the shoare, which forsaking the Coast is weaker, yet we felt yt in our reckoning vntill the 13th day, some dayes 10 leauges, and soe 8, 6, 4 & 2 leauges, as wee stood off. Whence I conclud it a good Course to hale in

[1] "This daye Tho. Barwicke, maister of the *Peppercorne*, was displaced, or raither remoued (vpon complainte made against him by his captaine) into the Shipp *Lyon*, and Jno. Curtis remoued into the *Peppercorne* in his roome" (Peyton's Journal). See also *Letters Received by the E. I. Company*, ii, pp. 184, 185, etc.

[2] Probably a Cabo das Gallinhas. Several old maps have a Rio das Gallinhas just north of Cape Mount, in Liberia.

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betweene 20 and 30 leagues of the shoare till within fiue or sixe degrees of the line, soe you shall haue helpe of the Currant, or less subiect to calmes; for the wynd wilbe off the land, when it is calme without, and you shall make the shorter way, rayse the faster to passe the Equinoctiall and the Turnados in 356 degrees of longitud and come sonner and to more aduantage in the generall wyndes way, which blowes betweene the N.E. and S.E. For you may goe the lardger, and again shorten the southerly course with all aduantage to the E.; prouided that you make not soe much Easterly way, though you could, as to bring the Cape of Good Hope to the Sowthward of S.E. by E. till you haue raised 16 or 17°. Then you may shorten the easterly way as you rayse the latitude; for if you doe meete with westerly wyndes you shall by soe much lesse neede them.

May 2.—This day the Sowth Tropique.

May 3.—The *Magillan* cloudes[1] first appeare, and they keepe their course with the Polar Starre about the pole, alway equidistant, 11 or 12° the most southermost. They are streamy and glaring, whyte, like the *Galaxia.*

May 14.—From the 9th to the 13th much wynd and stormy, that I neither could obserue sunne nor starr, but plyeing near in a Paralell the Variation altered little.

June 5.—Pengyn[2] Island at one in the Morning 4 leagues E. This day at 9 a Clocke I came to Anchor in the bay of Soldania in 5 fadom water, from Pengyn bearing E. 4 leagues; steering S.E. for the bay, fine shoaling hard sand, from 15 fadom to 5; bringinge the ledge of Rockes at the poynt of the bay N.W. by W., the table S. by E., is the best roade. In Comminge in it is better to hale in

[1] "A popular term for the two Nebiculae or great cloudy-looking spots in the Southern heavens, which are found to consist of a vast number of nebulæ and clusters of stars" (Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book*). See also Hues' *Tractatus de Globis* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), p. 66.

[2] Now Robben Island. The bay of Soldania is of course Table Bay, not the modern Saldanha Bay.

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with the Sowth then the North Shoare, for the flatts and sandes and breaches of Pengyn.

The 4th of June I was by reckoning 28 leagues off 33° 35′; soe that, the wynd standing, I did expect to be near land the first night watch. Most of our fleete, all except Iohn Hatch,[1] who keept the same manner of Reckoning, havinge looked for land 2 and 3 dayes before; their Accounts out. Besides, they made sure to see it within 12 howers after the variation was lessened to one degree, but this alsoe deceiued them and is an error. I was open and confident on my deed reckoninge, the rather because the longitude of the Cape by Mercator's proiection is rectefyed in 28° 30′ from the Meridian of the Lizard, and is, I suppose, truly proiected; and though the variation be an excellent evidence in the whole course of nearing land, yet it deliuereth no other certainty But warninge to looke out, for it lessens not in the same proportion near land, but by a much slower; for which I could give a perspicuous reason, but to learge for this place. Nor can any Judgment att all be made to 20 leaugs therby that shalbe infallible, the Magneticall amplitude being soe difficult to obserue truly, by the shipps Motion and the Needles quicknes, that a degree is scarce an error. This consideration made me confident that wee should see noe land untill the 5th day early in the morninge. The wynd at N.N.W. and fresh, wee steering E. to the sowthward, at one aclock after midnight the Admirall[2] tacked, and sawe land faier bye, & heaving the dipsall we had 35 fadome. Standing off in two glasses we deepned to 60 fadom. Nowe to this hower from Noone the 4th day we had runn 27 leaugs, and my reckoning was the day before 28 leauges,

[1] Master's mate on the *Lion*. We shall hear of him again later.

[2] It is scarcely necessary to say that at this period the commander of a fleet was usually called the *General*, while the ship which carried his flag was the *Admiral;* cp. Drake's *World Encompassed*, p. 8: "the admirall, wherein our generall himself went."

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soe that in tyme-I faild not an hower, in distance but one leauge, if wee had not stoode off in the night. At breake of day the 5th day we stood in, and sawe Pengwin Island East, and steering away S.E. for the baye came to Anchor.

It[1] is an opinion begotten by chance and Mayntaind by error, which our Pilotts hould and defend, that it is necessarie from the line to make a sowth way into the latitude of the Cape of Good hope to meete with West or S.W. wynds, to runn in a Parralell; whereby they loose in Easteringe by the advantage of the lardgnes of the generall wyndes sometymes 200 or 300 leauges, and become distant, in the Paralell of the Cape, some 600 some 700 leauges; which course is most obsurd. First, it is contrary to a Principall in Nauigation, to direct the shipes way next hand to the Porte desiered, prouided they goe lardge enough to runn thorough the sea, and fall not into any certaine and experienced inconveniency of contrary wynds or Currents. Now admitt it be true that in the lattitude of the Cape you shall meete with West or Sowthwest wyndes, yet it is most obsurd that therfore you will make more westerly way then you neede by 200 leaugs or a due sowth to meete with that wynd which will doe you the same good 200, yea 500, leaugs more to the East, or none at all; for if it forsake you before it bring you in, it had beene better to haue been soe far as it will bring you without it. If it be said you shall haue it sooner, I answer

[1] This excursus is explained by a passage in a letter written by Roe to Smythe from the Cape (*MS.*, f. 53). After passing the line, some differences arose as to the exact course to be taken. Roe freely expressed the views here laid down; and this seems to have been resented as an interference in matters beyond his province. Partly, therefore, in his own defence, and partly because of the importance of the subject, he set down in writing his "reasons and directions", and interpolated them here, as the most suitable place for them. Several of the officers and factors wrote to the Company on the same subject (see the abstracts in *O. C.*, No. 187: I. O. Records).

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some few howers, for the wynd crosseth from his rising (if it raigne soe farr) halfe the earth in soe much of a day: and therefore it is said, for expression of swiftnes, that God sitteth on the wynges of the wynd. And to feare any Calmes, especially without the Tropique, is a pannique terror and voyd of reason, and Contrary to the only ground layd of this course. For if they feare it from the rule of Calmes betweene two wyndes, then they doe confesse the west wyndes expected betweene the longitud they seek it in and the Cape doe loose themselves; and then I say they goe out of their way to find that frennd which forsakes them in their greatest neede, and leaues them in the calmes they feare. But grannting it for true (as it is) that the west wyndes supposed are vncertaine, then they runn this dainger, that a North wynd will not fetch the Cape, which is to great a hazard. For the variation being 17° to the East of the North makes your waye so much to the Sowth of the East; and when you shall hale your tackes close aboord for that then the Lewarly way wilbe as much as the Variation, and in a head sea more; wherby you shall beate your ships, aduance little, and can make your true way noe better then E. and by Sowth, and soe ouershoote the roade. But these ar suppositions and discources of Admittance on bothe sides, when the truth is aproueable by Nature and reason, that without the Tropique of Capricorne the wynds are variable as in our devision of the world and, if any wynds be more frequent then others, they are betweene that and the Cape in Aperill and May N. and N.E.ly wynds, as in our Tropique, corresponding in latitude and season, S. and S. Westerly; First because the sunne beeing Clome to the North, both exhales the wyndes and disperseth them; besides the greatest lands and nearest as you stand in (and all wyndes are made at lande) vear E. and N. But the Conclusion is the wyndes are variable and subiect to blowe (if any way) contrary to the wyndes

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most ordinary in our October and Nouember, being the opposite season and Climatt to us. Therefore I say it is best to make use of the Generall wyndes from the lyne, soe far as they raigne, haling as much E.' as they will suffer you to goe large through the sea with a fadome or two of the sheate flowne. So shall you be alsoe in a N. and N.E. wyndes way, and may stand large, soe longe as you borowe on the Sowth,[1] to rayse at pleasur, and if these prophecyed wyndes at W. doe blow, you are alsoe so much more in their waye by how much lesse you neede them. And if any man obiect to me his experience, I reply he knowes not the force of that woord ; for experience ariseth from a frequent and often approbation in one course of the same truth and had neede of the authoritye of 100 tryalls, and not of two or 3 vioyadges; which is the moste any of our great Masters can bragg off. And I affirm reason grounded on good principles shall proue their experience the resolutions of leuitie and of men affected to their owne wayes ; and it is noe good argument : "I have found it soe, therfore it will euer be soe"; but from Causes to effects is the lodgique of wise men : "thus in reason it ought to be, and therfore it is most probable it is soe". Yet, to sett Game against Game (for all the former courses are grounded on chance), I oppose the triall of Sir Henry Middelton,[2] who beate it off in the Latitud of the Cape many dayes, with much E. wynd. The *Hector* with Captain Towerson[3] gott in with N. wyndes little westerly or at largest N.N.W. Captain Newport[4] with the Persian Ambassador held it up East as nere as he Could, and neuer had breath of W. wyndes, but keeping the Sowth to frend went lardge in with a N. wynd. Dauis gave instructions to the fleete with

[1] To borrow is "to approach closely either to land or wind" (Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book*).
[2] In the East India Company's Second Voyage (1604-6).
[3] Eighth Voyage (1611-14).
[4] Twelfth Voyage (1613-14).

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Captain Beast[1] not to hale Easterly until 28°; but soe soone as the wynds fauoured him in 23° he stood E.S.E. himselfe. Being asked why hee did contrary to his owne directions, though he answered "it was for his pleasur", any man may discerne that hee would not teache other men to goe out of a beaten path (all bye wayes requiring the best guide), and that if they had parted company by weather, he would haue made them woonder at him getting in long before them that followed his directions. Soe that which was an abuse to them would have apeared skill in him. Lastly I oppose my owne tryall in the *Lyon* with Captaine Newport, when I went His Majesties Ambassador to the Great Mogull;[2] we troad in this high Sowtheren way, and though often the wynds were soe lardge that wee might have made a Sowth and by East and S.S.E. way or between them in the whole we made it all from the line next hand Sowth only to rayse the latitud; which if it had been advantage for us and the west wyndes expected in a bagg, yet was the Course ill; for a Poynte and halfe to the East of the Sowth in raysing 33° had aduantaged us 200 leaugs to the East and shortned the Sowth way not aboue 35 leaugs or a degree and ⅔, and soe in proportion as the wynd might haue lardged. When wee were in the latitude the wynd was scanter than euer & veary feirce at E. & E.S.E. and S.E., wherby we were forced to make a S. Westerly way most opposits to our port till wee raysed 35° 30′. Then the wynds Rainginge to the N. of the E. and betweene them, to late we beleued it reasonable to stand back to the N. or as near it as we could to fetch Frendship of that wynd which was most Vsuall. Thus wee plyed it 9 or 10 dayes, with foule stormie weather; at the end wheroff the wynd veering to the North and N.N.W.

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[1] The fleet of the Tenth Voyage, which left England in 1612. John Davis (Davis of Limehouse, *not* the Arctic navigator) was master of the *James*, and apparently pilot of the fleet.

[2] *I.e.*, in the present expedition.

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with our tacks close aboord, the variation and lewarly way Considered, we had labor enough to make our true way E. by N. to recouer the Cape. Our Pilotts and masters rather found their error then confeste it, yet made vse of my opinione and reasons ; for a Counsell beeing called at the Cape concerning the Course past, the most voyces enclining this way, it was resolued on as their owne. And, because my advise nor counsell was neuer desired, I made noe secrett of their Ignoranncye ; on the other syde they doubted not their element to be aboue myne, that had to doe only at land. But hee that stands on the advantage of a hill doth see and iudge both valleyes and seas and all belowe him and will say : *Nihill ignorantia audacius, et cæcæ experientiæ nixo petulantius.*[1]

Soldanya is, as I suppose, an Island,[2] on the South end wherof is the Cape of Good hope, deuided from the Mayne by a deepe Bay on the S.E. side and due E. by a riuer which wee discerne vpon the table.[3] The land is fructfull, bearing short thicke grasse. The Mayne is deuided with most high and steepe rocky Mountaynes couered with snow, and vnaccessable, except it be scearched by the riuer of Dulce,[4] which doubtlesse is veary great, falling into the Bay on the East syde. There is on the Island 5 or 600 people, the most barberous in the world, eating Carrione, wearing the gutts of sheepe about their Necks for health, and rubbing their heads (curled like Negroos) with dung of beasts and durte. They have noe other Cloathing then

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[1] "Nothing is bolder than ignorance; no one more headstrong than the man who relies upon blind experience." *Cæcæ experientiæ* should apparently be *cæcâ experientiâ*. The source of the quotation has not been discovered.

[2] The Cape peninsula has this appearance from the sea, and is so represented in old maps.

[3] During the stay of the ships, Roe spent some time on land, one of the five tents erected being set aside for his use (Peyton's Journal). A letter from one of the factors mentions that while at the Cape Roe "set up a pillar with an inscription of his embassy" (*O. C.*, No. 187).

[4] The "Sweet River" (cp. *Leo Africanus*, Hakluyt Soc. ed., i, p. 66; and Herbert's *Travels*, 1638, p. 13).

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beastes skins wrapt on their shoulders, the skinne next the body in heate, in could the hairy syde. Theyr howses are but one matt concaued like an Ouen, into which they Creepe, and turne them about as the wynde Chainges, for they haue no doores to keepe it out. They have lefte their stealinge by trading with vs, and by signes make showe their harte is good. They knowe noe kind of God or religion. The ayer and water is veary wholsome, and both of them subtile and searching. There is on the Island Bulls, Cowes, Antelops, Babones, Mowles of great bignes, Fezants, partriches, larckes, wildgoose, duckes, Pascer flamingos and many others. On Pengwyn there is a foule soe Called that goes vpright, his winges without feathers hanging downe like sleues faced with whyte; they fley not but walk in Pathes and keepe their diuisions and quarters orderly; they are a strange fowle or rather a *Miscelanius* creator of beast, bird, and Fishe, but most of bird, confuting that difinition of man to be *Animall bipes implunæ*[1], which is nearer to a discription of this Creature. The Comodities here are, first, reasonable refreshings with Cattell (soe that a season be Chosen when they are not leane, a Month after the sunn is departed from them Northward); *Nangin*[2] rootes; Arras,[3] if our Merchants be not deceiued; and I doe strongly suppose that I found a Rocke yeelding quicksiluer and virmillion,[4] the stone being spotted all without with a most pure redd Coulor, equall to any paynting, and that will come off vpon paper or other fitt matter; by the description of John Acosta[5] it cannot fayle to be the

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[1] The well-known definition of man (ζῶον δίπουν ἄπτερον) ascribed to Plato—"that unfeathered two-legged thing", as Dryden renders it.

[2] See p. 1, *n.*

[3] Orris root. Several varieties of *Iris* are found at the Cape.

[4] On the strength of Roe's opinion, "30 or 40 lbs." were sent home in the *Hope* "for a trial" (*O. C.*, No. 187). As nothing more is said on the subject, it is probable that the results were unsatisfactory.

[5] *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), p. 214. "John" is a mistake (probably due to the original copyist) for "Joseph".

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same; it is alsoe veary heauie, full of Marquisate and minnerall apperannces. The Table, or high rocke soe Called, by a streight lyne from the water syde is 11853 foote high.[1] The bay is full of whales and seales; The dutch haue fished on Pengwyn for them. The lattitud is is 33° 45′; the longitude 28° 30′ from the lizard; the variation doubtfull whyther to the East or West, but my opinion is that the variation is West 30^m, The cause of variation beeing in the Mayne, as apperes euidently by the many lynes and changes towards the Cape E. and after Westerly. If any shipping (hauing tym enough) fall but 100 leaugs more to the North with the Mayne (which may be done with saftye, no wyndes forbidding it), I assure myselfe they shall haue good trade for Cattle and other Comodoties, and may by leauing some men discouer the land, and perhapes gett knowledge of the People that trade with the Spaniardes on the East syde in 21° for gould after the Manner of the Moores in Barbery to Gago[2]. These lefte at the Cape[3] will goe no further, but attend

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[1] Herbert (1638) says 11,860 feet. It is really about 3,550 feet.

[2] See *The Historie of Barbary*, by Ro. C. (London, 1609), sig. K 3.

[3] The reference is to the "condemned men from Newgate", whom the Company, as a charitable deed, had begged of the King upon the understanding that they would be left at the Cape. This anticipation of the transportation system (which was not unusual in voyages of the period) was attended by very poor success. In two letters to Sir Thomas Smythe, Roe pointed out the mischievous influence exercised by these malefactors upon the crews of the ships, and the futility of expecting that they would either settle at the Cape or make any attempt to discover the interior; and, when the time came for quitting the Bay, he protested warmly against their abandonment. Keeling, however, considered that he had no option; though as a courtesy to the ambassador he spared two, one of whom, named Duffield, was taken into Roe's seıvice, and rewarded his benefactor, upon their return to England, by absconding with some of his plate. The remaining ten were set ashore, with a few provisions and tools; and Cross, a former yeoman of the royal guard, who had been sentenced to death for killing several men in duels, was, with their consent, constituted the captain. Shortly after, one man was killed and two were wounded in a skirmish with the natives; whereupon the *Hope*, before departing, gave them four muskets and a boat, in order that they might find a safe dwelling-place upon Penguin Island. Eight months later, the *New Year's Gift*, on her homeward voyage, took off three of the survivors; and

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oportunity of passage; and thear can doe noe great good, beeing amounge the basest banished people, that knowe nothing sauoring of man, nor are no other way men, But as they speake and walke like men.

June 17.—This night the *Hope*[1] came to an Anchor in the Bay from Suratt, laden with Indicoes.

June 20.—Wee weighed at 4 in the morning, the wynd at E.S.E., and stood off 5 leaugs N.W. by N., keeping the bay open. Then wee sawe a headland S. by E. 6 leaugs off; so steering S.E. by S., by Morning the 21th day, the Cape of Good Hope bearing from that headland S.E. and N.W., and from the Cape of Good Hope Cape Falso bearing E. by S. ½ S. and W. by N. ½ N. and from the ship N. by E. 7 leaugs off I proceeded towards Santa Lawrance.[2]

June 25.—Wee sawe the land, which I suppose was Cape Fernoso, N. by E. We sounded at 65 fadom 8 leauges off, and being Calme by an Eddy currant we draue to the N. 2 leaugs a watch.

I found by falling with the land that the Currant kept us both from raysing and Eastering, so that notwithstand-

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the rest are said to have found a passage in a Portuguese ship. The three brought back to England deserted in the Downs, "took a purse" within three hours, were captured, and ordered for execution on their old sentence.

Three more condemned men were carried out in the fleet of 1616. On reaching the Cape and learning the fate of their predecessors, they besought the commander on their knees to hang them outright rather than leave them. He refused to depart from his instructions, and they were put ashore accordingly; but the *Swan*, the last ship of his fleet to leave the Bay, took them on board and carried them to Bantam. The experiment seems then to have been abandoned. (See Terry's *Voyage;* Court Minutes and Dodsworth's Journal, in I. O. Records; Peyton's Journal, *ut supra;* Pring's narrative in *Purchas*, i, p. 631.)

[1] The *Merchants' Hope*, one of the vessels of Downton's fleet of the preceding year. "June 17, aryved the Shipp *Hope* homeward; in her Master Dodsworthe, by whome wee vnderstood at lardge the many iniuryes and abuses offred our nation at Suratt by the Portugalls, and howe their malitious proiectes and fyre deuises weare with Gods assistance withstood" (Peyton's Journal).

[2] Madagascar.

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ing the ships way by the passing of the water gaue soe many leauges as the table of Course mentions, yet the error was great, and must be corrected in the whole course. For at fower in the afternoone the 25th day we sawe land bearing from W. to N.E. by E. all along, wheras by rekoning I was more then 40 leaugs off, so that two errors are here discouered; one of the Cardes that lay the land away E.N.E. and W.S.W., the true bearing beeing from Cape des Agullas to Cape Aracifo E. ½ N., W. ½ S., and from thence it beginns to trend more North; the other, that wee were kept back by the Current in this Course 50 leauges at least, wherby we dayly mistooke our longitude, Judging it only by our Easterly way. From the last of June till the 5 of July, we raysed more then course and varriation did bring out by 4, 5, and 6 leaugs in 24 howers, right before the wynd; another Current setting alsoe to the North besides, which helped me to the N. I alwayes made two or 3° more variation then all the fleete, for my needle beeing touched afresh once in 10 dayes I suppose it was more animated and fixed then those that beeing long touchd must daylie somwhat weaken; the Needles I touchd for others performing the same difference.

July 8.—I was ashore by reckoning on Santa Lawrance in 22° 30′ latitude, 51° 10′ longitude, the fleete having by account looked for land 24 howers; but we could not make the Cape Augustine, the wynd hanginge off the land. But wee found that wee were hindered of Eastering by the first Currents at Cape des Agullas 50 leaugs, and by the Current setting after to the North we made more N. way then wee Could alowe, and by Consequence lesse E., the Current setting N.N.W. betweene the latitude of 30 and longitude of 46, and the lattitude 24 and longitude 29 [39?]. For we wanted, as I suppose, 20 leaugs off Santa Lawrance notwithstanding wee had runn over him 80 leaugs. But of this I dare affirme on good reason, that the Cape Augus-

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tine must be layed in the E. 40 leaugs more then it is in Mercators plott, being there in 51° 10′, truly in 53°. The land alsoe at the foote of Affrica is more in longitude then it lyeth for. Seeing in 3 dayes we could not gett into the land, and beeing put to the N., the 12th day, the wynd at N.E., we stood away for Molalia, iudging myselfe to be 20 leaugs from Saint Lawrance W. in 21° 10′. It is Necessary to see the Cape of Augustine, to Correct the errors of the Currents, else hee that shall shape his Course by reckoninge may be deceiued in Longitude 50 or 60 leaugs, which is veary daingerous because of the shoales of Iudia[1] near 21, and the Currents soe variable that it wilbe hard to coniecture on which hand you leave them. Therfore I advise (if weather be faier at the Cape of Good Hope) to make Aracifo in 33° 30; so you shall Correct the fierst currents. Then to runn large away E. neare to the longitude of the Island before you hale to the North, for you will rayse apace both by the Current and variation, into the latitude of Cape Augustine. If it be foule weather getting about the Cape of Good Hope, stand into 37° before you hale to the East; and then runn in a Paralell, or little to the N., aloweing by Coniecture for the Currents, but not soe much as if you stood nearer into the shoare, wher they are more violent, but are soone lost in the sea. From Cape Augustine a N.W. by N. Course will goe Cleare both of the shoales of Iudia and the shoales of Saint Lawrance in 20°. These shoales are bould, and as a Pilott of Magadoxa tould me[2] haue fine shoalinge 12 and 15 fadome to the shoare. I thinke I lefte Iudia 20 leaugs W., because at Molalia my reckoninge came well out.

July 21.—At two in the Afternoone wee made lande N.E. by N. 7 leaugs off, taking it for Molalia, in 12° 57′, and stood in with it till 5 at night, when wee sawe another

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[1] Now known as the Europa Shoals. [2] See p. 22.

Island bearing N.W. by W., the true Molalia, which beare N. of vs at Noone (when we made Juanny for it) both by reckoning, and the truth. Then standing W. off and W. by S. till 7 in the Morning the 22th, seeing Molalia playn N.N.W. we stood away N.W. and N. about the west ende of the Island, and Came to Anchor on the North syde in a little Bay in 24 fadome water, the Poynt to the West having a ledge of Rockes W.S.W. and the other poynt E. by S., the soundings veary deepe as wee came alonge the shoare vnto the Roade.

Molalia is one of the 4 Islands of Comory,[1] Angazesia, Juanny, and Mayotta beinge the other three. They lye E. and W. near in a Paralell one of another, except Angazesia, which lyeth somwhat more N.; Molalia 12° 20′ Sowth lattitude in the same Meridian with Cape Augustine, the variatione being 16° 40′. Angazesia bears from it by the Compasse N. by W. 7 leaugs off, the Sowerthmost[2] end in a 11° 55′, extending it selfe North to a 11° 6′, as I obserued within 5 leaugs therof, bearing sowth from me. It is the highest land I euer sawe, inhabited by Moores trading with the Mayne and the other three Easteren Islands with their Cattle and fructs for Callicoes or other Linnen to Couer them. It is gouernd by ten Petty kings, and is sufficiently fruictfull of kine, faire goates, Cocors, orrenges, and lemons. They made us fiers as we passed by, being desierous of trade at the first hand, which nowe they fetch by Cannoes at Molalia, whear our ships ride. They are helde a false and an vnfaythfull people, having betrayd some of Sir James Lancasters men long sithence,[3] but nowe, havinge experience of vs at other Islandes, I doubt not they would regayne theyr Creditts.

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[1] The Comoro group.

[2] "Furthermost" in *Purchas*, where the succeeding sentence is with equal carelessness turned into "extending itselfe North eleuen degrees sixe minutes".

[3] In 1591. See *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, pp. 6, 26.

Juanny lyes from Molalia East, and Mayotta in the same Course. The Coast betweene them is euery way bould. These three Islands are veary full of good refreeshinges, but Principally Mayotta, as I was enformed by the Arabs trading in Molalia; and the Dutch stoppe thear. The next in goodnes is Juanny, whear liues an ould woeman Sultanness of them all, to whom they repayre for Justice both in Ciuill and Criminall causes. Molalia hath on yt three Subsultans, Children of the ould woeman, two men, one daughter, who Gouerne seuerall parts of the Island. The Sultan in whose quarter we Anchored hath such authoritye that his subjects dare not sell a Nutt untill leaue obtayned. To which end Captaine Keeling[1] sent four boates to his towne, desiringe libertye to trade; wher they were receiued by a Gouernor or rather an Admirall or Commander of the Porte, lyeing some 4 leauges to the Eastward

[1] William Keeling, the "General" of the fleet. He was at some time or other Groom of the Chamber to King James, probably before he entered the Company's service. In their employment he was captain, first of the *Susan* and then of the *Hector*, in the First Voyage, and held the chief command in the Third. He was now going out with a special commission to pass from port to port in the Indies, and regulate the Company's affairs in all the factories. As he was to remain five years abroad, he had pleaded very hard to take his wife with him. For a short time the Committees were inclined to agree, as "some approved of the motion as very fitting for the quiet of his mind and the good of his soul, and as a curse befalleth those that keep man and wife asunder"; but finally they determined to refuse the request. At the last moment, however, they found that he had secretly smuggled his wife aboard, and it was only on a threat of dismissal that he was induced to leave her behind. Writing from the Cape, he implored the Company to send her out to him; and as this was not done, he hurried home in 1617. By 1618 he had been appointed captain of Cowes Castle; two years later he died, and was buried at Carisbrook, at the early age of forty-two. His quaint epitaph, still to be seen in the church there, calls him "a merchant fortunate, a captain bould, a courtier gracious"; and that he was a man of real merit and capacity is evident from the terms in which Roe speaks of him. Although there was a coolness between them at first, this left no real hostility; and, writing to Pepwell on the 30th December 1616, Roe says emphatically that Keeling "did vse his authoritye with more moderation and better judgment and integritie then most men would, and will not be easely matched for sufficiency euery way, & did as well deserue the trust as any, I beleeue, they [the Company] can euer employ".

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of our roade, where, havinge obtained leaue to come ashoare, we landed some 40 Men with Captaine Newport.[1] The Gouernor they found sitting vpon a Matt of Strawe, under the side of a Junck which was a building, accompanied with about 50 Men. His apparell was a Mantell of blew and red Lynen wrapte about him to his knees, his legges and feete bare: on his head a close cape of checker woork. The Enterpreters were certaine Magadoxians, that spake Arabique and broken Portuguese. Captaine Newport, presenting him with a Peece and a swoord blade from Captain Keeling, receiued a welcome; and [the Gouernour] Commanded 4 Bullocks to be returned in requitall, and with Grauitie enough entertayned them, geuinge free libertye to buy and sell and signifiinge soe much by a Messenger to the inhabitants round about, and promised to send downe his owne cattle; but professed he had noe Power to Compell or make price for others, but lefte the trade open to euerie mans will. He sent for Cocore Nutts to giue the Company, himselfe Chaweing Bittle and lyme of burnt Oystershells with a kernell of a Nutt called Arraca, like an Ackorne. It bytts in the Mouth, avoydes Rume, Cooles

[1] Christopher Newport (1565-1617), captain of Roe's ship, the *Lion*. It had first been intended that he should command the fleet, and he was by no means pleased to find Keeling placed above him. He had had a distinguished career. In 1592 he swept the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, and ended by assisting to capture the great carrack *Madre de Deos*; later he made five voyages to the New World, and shared with Somers in the re-discovery of the Bermudas. His first voyage in the service of the East India Company was in January 1613, when he carried out Sir Robert Sherley in the *Expedition* to Lárí Bandar, went on to Bantam for a cargo of pepper, and was back in England by July 1614, a record passage ("I thinke", wrote one of the Company's factors a little later, alluding to an old superstition, "Captain Newport . . . Carryeth a Fly in a box with him"). His next voyage was the one in which we now find him engaged. Returning with the *Lion* in the autumn of 1616, he was sent with a fresh ship to Bantam, and reached that port on the 15th August 1617. He died not long after, but the exact date is not known. There is a good notice of him by Professor Laughton in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and a few additional particulars of his home-life will be found in *Stepney Registers*, p. 25, *n.*

the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their phisicke; it makes one vnvsed to it giddy, and makes a mans spittle redd, and in tyme Coullers the teeth, which is esteemed a beawty. This is vsd by all men howerly. From the Gouernor they were leadd to a Carpenters howse, a Cheefe man of that towne; the howse builte of lyme and stone, Playstered with Morter or whyt lime, lowe, and little, Roofte with rafters of woode couered with Cocor leaues, the outsides watled with Canes. They are keept Cleanly and their poore househould stuff neate, their gardens pald with Canes, enclosinge some Tobacco and Plantan trees. For dinner a boorde was sett vpon tressells couered with a fine new Matt; benches of stone about yt likwise couered, on which they scatt. First water was brought to euerie man in a Cocor shell, powered out into a wooden Platter, and insteed of a towell the rinds of Cocor. Then was sett boyld rise and rosted Plantens, upon the rice quarters of henns and Peeces of goate broyld. After grace said, they fell to their meate, with bread made of Cuscus, beaten and mingled with honny and soe fryed, and Palmeto wyne and Cocor milke for drinke. I sent a gentellman and my Chaplen to see the Sultan himselfe, who liues three miles vp in the land from Fambone, the towne of the Gouernor; but they found him by Chance there. He vsed them Curteously and made them dyne with him, differing little from the former entertaynment, only the Gouernor and all others gaue him much respect, kissing his hand. His Name is Sultan Amar-Adell, akinne to Mahomette,[1] not vnlike to be descended of such an imposturous race; his Cloathes not vnlike the Gouernors but somwhat better stuffe; his manners differing much, being with less grauitie and state; somwhat a light foole, and veary hastie to be druncke with wyne Carried by the English. The other

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[1] *I.e.*, a *Sharif*, a descendant of the Prophet.

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Vize-Sultan his brother, in whose quarter we wear not, I sawe, being Come downe to our roade with three slaues to trade. Hee brought a Certifficate from Captain Sayers that hee had vsd the English well in his dominion.[1] He is as well *Xeriff*[2] as Sultan, which is high Priest. He kept a kinde of state in place, but otherwise a poore beare-footed roauge. He offered to trade for quicksiluer, and being asked what quantitie he would buy, replyed, to 4 or 5 rialls of eight. When this Marchandice faild him, hee fell to begginge of shooes; then I left him.

All the People are strickt Mahometans, obseruing much much of the ould Lawe, and at this tyme, beeing the preparation to their *Ramdam*, or lent,[3] vnwilling to drink wyne. They are veary Jelous to let their weomen or *Moschees*[4] be seene; of which we had experience by an alarum of one of their Priests, who espied one of ours comming toward a village, who shutt vp all the woemen, and cried out if we came neare them or their church they would kill vs; but by the authoritie of the *Xeriff*, the stone (*sic*) preist was appeased and suffered it with more patience. Many of them speake and writt the Arabique in a fair Character, and some few Portuguese, trading to Mosombique in junks of 40 touns made of Cocor, sowed insteed of Pinns, Cawked, tackled, and wholly fitted, victualed, and fraighted with that Vniversall tree.

Here our fleete refreshed with Oxen and Cowes, smale as two-yeareling but good flesh, with goates veary fatt and large, Arabian sheepe, henns, Cocors, orenges, lemons,

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[1] Eighth Voyage (1611-14). See Saris's narrative in *Purchas*, i, p. 336.

[2] See the note on the previous page.

[3] *Ramazan*, the ninth month of the Muhammadan year, observed as a strict fast, because in it began the revelation of the Koran.

[4] Mosques (from the Arabic *masjid*, probably through the Spanish *mezquita*). The English form was originally dissyllabic, as is here shown; its present-day pronunciation being due to the misleading influence of other words ending in —que. The English translation (1669) of Olearius's account of the Holstein embassy to Persia gives throughout the form "mosquey".

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lymes in great abundance, which we bought for Callicoes, hollands, or other lynnen, sword blads, and rialles of Eight; and their fruicts for glasses, knives, and trifles. Whatsoeuer is bought for money is bought dearest.

Here was in trade a Iunke of Madagascar[1] with Slaues. The Pilott of the Iunke, called Malim-Abrimme,[2] spake Portiguse, and toulde me on the Sowth side of St. Lawrance ther was store of Amber greese, and Cokar of the Sea.[3] Hee was skillfull in the Coast and in the lyeing and bearing of landes both in Course and distance. Hee had a good partchment Carde, lyned and graduated orderly, which I sent to see. He founde faulte with many things in my Carde at sight, which I mended by his direction, and with reason; as the distannce from Socatra from the Mayne, and Razingc quite out certaine Islands to the Sowthward of Molalia, affirming thear are non such. His Cuntrie lyes from 1° 50′ to 4°, the Port in 2° 10′ N. latitude, gouerned by one King. Hee assured me of trade enough at his Porte to loade one ship with Marfill,[4] Ambre, and *Tinta Roxa*.[5] He promised to bring me his Plott and soundings and a sample of *Tinta Roxa*; but some other Cause diuerted him that hee would Come no more at me, notwithstanding I dealt liberally with him, in present and in promises. To the sowth of Magadoxo all the Ports are Gouerned by Moorish Petty Kings, even to Mosambique.

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[1] "From Gangamora in Madagascar" (Peyton's Journal).

[2] See p. 16, *n*. *Malim* is the Arabic *mu'allim*, the "instructor," hence the pilot or sailing master of a vessel. Peyton mentions this man as "one of theis pylotts named Bram (which is as muche to saye Abram)", and says that he tried hard to persuade the English commander to send one of the ships to the eastern coast of Africa, offering his own services as pilot. A consultation was held, at which this proposal found some support; but in the end it was judged unwise to divide the fleet, as they might need all their force to repel a Portuguese attack at Surat, and time would not allow of the whole fleet going round by that coast.

[3] Coco-de-mer.

[4] Ivory (Sp. *marfil*).

[5] Probably orchilla weed, a lichen which grows on rocks and trees near the sea-coast, and yields a purple dye.

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He perswaded me that wee might in many Places trade for gould and siluer; that in Magadoxo the howses roofes were guilt, and that they had gould in Sand and mingled with earth, which they esteem not; off the Inland hee knew little, only naming some Places or regions between Magadoxo and Prester Jhon as Odola, Maheza, Rehamy, and Gala;[1] of which Odola and Gala are *Chapharrs*, which signifieth misbeleuers (I knowe not whether he means gentiles or christians,[2] vsing the same promiscuously as well to Prester Jhon as to other gentiles). Off Prester Jhon he knoweth noe more then that he is a great Prince and a *Capharr*. From Magadoxo to Cambaya he was expert. His brother, who Came with him to me, was in fight against the *Hope*,[3] in a Portugall shipp pressed from Damon, in which 45 were slayne; more he knewe not, but that 3 shipps were burned and the rest runne away. Hee said the king of Dabull tooke courage on this victory and surprised Chaul, Damon and other the Portugalls port townes and was Marching to Goa: That the Portugalls was in great distresse of victualls. I hoped to have stored myselfe with more discourse from him, but I was, I knowe not howe, prevented. It were tyme well bestowed to see this Coast, and I spake to some of it; but it fared the woorse for the father.

The Road of Molalia lyes in 12° 10′, and for the first 6 dayes the Current setts two leauges a watch S.W., the Moone increasinge. At the full, we wounde up N.E. the other way; but veary easily, for the most parte riding

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[1] These are unrecognisable; though perhaps Odola is the "Adel" of Alvarez (part of Somaliland), and Gala the land of the Galla tribes. By Prester John is meant Abyssinia, which was by this time generally recognised as the realm of this mysterious potentate.

[2] Of course he meant *both*. To Muhammadans all outside Islam are *Kafirs*.

[3] See p. 14, *n*. The reports of the capture of Chaul, &c., proved to be untrue.

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vpon the Current. The Magadoxians made some[1] absurdly beleeue that the Current sett 15 dayes one waye, and 15 another, and 15 dayes still; which, because of the first 6 dayes it sett S.W. and after wee wounde up N.E., it begott the opinione of a wonder. Butt the Current setts constantly S.W., and before the full of the Moone it had such Power on the ebbe and flood that wee neuer wound vp; but at the full Moone and springe tydes we rode vpon the flood against the Current, it runninge vnder and the tyde aboue, highinge 16 foote water, and the Ebbe wynding back with the Current; soe that the supposed Chainge of the Current was only strong tydes at the full Moone ouercomminge it aboue. For at sea, when the springe was Past, I found the same Current, and though we weare sett to the Eastward the first day we weighed, and to the westward the Next, the cause was the Eddies off Juanny one day and Angazesia the other; but being Clear of them, it sett his dew Course, that I raised little and did Westward much.

August 2.—Wee weighed from Molalia and stood our Course for Socatra.

August 4.—At night Angazesia bare by Compasse S.S.E. 6 leaugs off, we steering N.E. by E.

August 5.—Till noone the 5th day wee did not alter yt, yet we runn 16 leaugs, but raysed not aboue 10 Minnitts; wherby I gather we had a tyde setting 6 howers W.S.W. and backe E.N.E., by which wee raysed and altered litle.

August 10.—In the Morning we repast the Equinoctiall.

August 14.—In the Morninge wee saw the Coast of Magadoxo in 4° N. latitude 4 leagues off; sounding had 18 fadome of Lowe Land, whyte sandye bankes. Then wee stood off E.N.E. The difference of longitude betweene the

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[1] Peyton was one of these. He notes: "they tould me of the strange course of the currant, which ranne 15 dayes westerly, 15 dayes easterly, and 15 dayes noe way" (Journal, p. 14).

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mayne and Molalia in Mercators proiection agreeing with our Account and alsoe by course hauinge found the longitude of Cape Santa Augustine and Molalia to be one, I conclude that Saint Lawrance ought to be layde to the E. 39 or 40 leaugs, according to my first opinion, and all the Coast of the Mayne beeing broader then it is layde in the Carde must be also sett in proportion to the Eastward: because the distance of Longitude is right from one to the other, though all their longitude falce in themselues. From Molalia to fall with Cape de Bussos[1] N.N.E. ¼ E. way is the best Course, it beeinge necessarie to see the Mayne aboute the latitude. In this course since we lost the westerly current at Angazesia I found none or very little, contrary to all Iornalls. Our Marriners in this Course are off as many opinions as poynts in the Compasse, both for Currents, distances, and bearings, according to Compasse or variation. But I obserued the truth in the later end of this S.W. Monsone; which I confess may alter in the hart of a Contrary Monzon, the settlednes of the wynd causing much chainge in Currents of which noe rule can be geuen.

August 16.—At 8 in the Morning, having stood N.E. [N.W.?] from 6 to make the Mayne, we heaued the dipsall and had no ground. At 7 a Clock at night, standing in still with much wynd, wee had suddenly whyte water as whyte as milke, soe that wee Could not discerne the flory of the sea.[2]

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[1] Dos Baixos, *i.e.* Ras Awath.

[2] "This eauening at 8 clocke passed ouer a white glareing watter (like litening) but noe ground in 80 fadoms lyne" (Peyton's Journal, p. 18). In Pring's voyage (1617) the English ships in 4° S. came into "exceedinge white and shyning water, which at first sight was very terrible to behould" (Monnox to the Company, 28 Dec., 1617.—*O. C.*, No. 586). The phenomenon was probably due to the presence of animalculæ.

'Flory' is no doubt 'flurry', *i.e.*, the agitation of the sea breaking over rocks, as they expected to find. Saris, in his diary, 1611-13 (I.O. Marine Records, xiv), speaking of a shoal, says: "you shall see the sea *flur* one it yf there be anye wynd."

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Fearing we were near land, we heaued and had noe ground at 70 fadome; and by and by, discerning a black miste on our lee bowe, They cried out "land!" bringing the shipp too, to stand off East. A New alarume of land ahead and on both bowes; this made much Confusion amoung vs with all the babell language of the sea, stumbling almost aboord one another with more danger then of Rocks. But it vanished like a mist, and wee stood of N.E. 18 leaugs till 4 in the Morning, and then stood in againe N.W. 19 leaugs, with a high sea and much wynd. This night wee crost the Paralell of the sunne Northward.

August 17.—At Noone we made Cape Guardefuy, 8 leaugs off west, being the Cape of the Enterance of the Red Sea. At this hower I was 5 leaugs ashoare vpon the Mayne,[1] some others keeping me company; the rest out of reckoning, fearing wee could not fetch the Mayne till we should ouershoote Socatra. Hence I obserue that, seeing after we made the land the 14th day and standing off N.E. by N. and N.E. the variation alowed (as appears protracted in the table of Course) and the land lyeing in our Plotts but N.E. and by North, wee could not have beene farr off, yet we stood 16 leaugs North and sawe noe land; but I suppose wee weare veary neare yt in the whyte water the 16 day, and then standing off that night 18 leaugs N.E. wee stood in againe 19 leaugs N.W. before we made it 8 leaugs off west. Hence I say I obserue that we had both some Current setting to the N.E., for we had raysed more then we could allowe by our way and wear farther off then we expected, and alsoe the land from Cape De Bussos in 4° to Cape Alabana[2] in 11° trendeth N.N.E. and S.S.W. a poynt more to the Northward then it lyes in the Cardes. Soe that it is as much in the falce bearing of the land as in any Current which makes all men stand off too Eastwardly

[1] By reckoning.

[2] Probably Ras Hafun.

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and looke for the lande soe soone. But the right and surest Course is to fall with the Mayne in 4° and soe to stand alonge the shoare within 7 or 8 leaugs, soe to see the land once in 4 howers if you please. The Coast is bould, as the Magadoxian Pilott did assure me. From Cape Alabana in 11° to Cape Guardafuy in 12° the land lyes N. and S. You may ride vnder the Cape,[1] and bringe a high sandie Clifte Sowth East and the Northwardmost land you can see N.W. by W. by the Compasse, in 12 fadome water, faier whyte sandy grounde. The poynte bearing W.S.W. as we stood in is a downerighte sharpe rocke with two Notches making a Baye, lyeing in W.S.W. Thence it ryseth round and higher land and lyes away towards the red sea N.W. ½ W. by the Compass. We had sounding 56 fadome 5 leaugs off, and soe 40, 30, 20 and 15 till we Anchored in 12 fadome, in a little baye, wher we stayed the 18th day and sawe some people in Turbants, but they would not Come near vs. Ashoare ther was a Tombe of whyte stone with a Pillar at each end, neare the water syde, in a sandy Baye.[2] The latitude is 11° 55′, the variation 17°.

August 19.—At 3 in the Morning we wayed and steered for Abdalacora[3] E. and E. by S. and E.S.E., having the sea on our starboord side, 17° variation, making an E. by N. waye 15 leaugs, and then we sawe Abdalacora E. by N. 3 leaugs off lyeing 12° 20′ the bodye of the Island. Vpon the West poynt there lyes a daingerous ledge of rocks.

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[1] Guardafui.

[2] "Our boats went ashoare with saynes to take some fishe and to speak with the contry people, whearof 10 or 12 came downe, but (they soe fearfull of vs) would not come near, but made for one of our menn to come to them. Soe wee onlye tooke a fewe freshe fish and retorned abourd, not speaking with them. We could not diserne any howsen or place of habitacon neare to the sea side; yet theare was a monument built of a reasonable height, of lime and stone, whearvnder, as it seemed, was enterred some great mann late deceased" (Peyton's Journal, p. 18).

[3] Abd-el-Kuri, between C. Guardafui and Socotra.

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The true Course and distance from Cape Guardefuy to Abdalacora being E. by N. 18 leaugs. From the Wester end therof N.N.E. by the Compasse, 4 leaugs off, ther lyes a smale Island,[1] showeing 3 whyte bankes. We stood alonge to the Eastward end of this Island from the West end, lowe ragged barren land but showeing higher and higher till we saw two high hills toward the Eastward end. About the middle theroff there are fine sandy bayes and I suppose good riding, we hauing had in the openings 12 & 14 fadome water, sandy ground. But the *Dragon* standing off we stood alongest till they tooke in all their sayles, and had an Anchor a Pike, but it seemes Could gett no ground; and supposing shee intended to Anchor, the fleete loofte vp Close aboord the shoare vnder the Eastermost high land, wher wee had ground in 18 fadome, shelly and foule. But all our Anchors tript, soe that wee were putt off twice apeece, except the *Dragon*, whose Anchor when shee Came into vs helde by a Rocke, and wee stood it off and on, with much foule weather all that night. But in the Morninge, having loste sight one of another, and beeing putt to leeward of the Island wee steered away E.S.E.

At 6 a Clock the 20th day by 8 wee had sight of the *Pepper-corne*, who had shippt a sea into her Mainetopp, and filled her betweene the decks that shee was in great perill. By 9 we sawe the *Expedition* alsoe ahead steering for Socatra, a Mightie sea on our starboord syde. The variation and all allowed wee made our way E. ¾ N. 10 leaugs, being to the Northward of Abdalacora in the Morninge, when we stood off 3 leaugs, the wynd at S. by W. At 12 at Noone wee sawe the W. end of Socatra E. by the Compasse 3 leaugs off, soe that the true course and distance betweene them is E.N.E. 13 leaugs. From the W. end of Socatra 2 leaugs off N.W. by N. there showes a Rock like

[1] One of the two islands called "The Brothers".

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a saile or a Ruyned Church. At 5 of the Clock in the afternoone we Anchored in the seconnd baye[1] from the W. end of the Island, wher we rode in 6 fadome water, grosse sand, and brought the Poynts the one East the other West, being a mightie highe Cliffe. This is in 12° 50′, variation 17° 50′. At 8 at night the wynd Powred downe the hills with such violence that we droue into 15 fadome, our Anchor beinge broken, and having lett fall another our Cable broke, and then wee were forced to bend our sheate Anchor and lett it goe, and Ride by a whole shott, having strooke all our yeards and topmasts. We had much adoe to ride it out, havinge a wyndward shoar within a mile, but soe much wynd till morning as noe ould seaman in our fleete ever sawe or felt.

August 21.—This day at 4 in the Afternoone the Admirall[2] came into the Roade with soe much wynd that shee splitt her foresaile, wherby shee was putt to lewward, and Anchored in a baye at the East end of the bay wee rodd in against lowe whyte sand hills in 19 fadome water, shee having stayed at Abdala [cora] the 20th day hopinge we had been able to recouer againe the Island.

August 22.—We weyed with much adoe, having had the same violence of wynd the night past as wee had the first night, and Came to Anchor in the little baye by the Admirall in 13 fadome water, sandye ground, where we rode at ease this night, the wynd being dispersed by the lesser hills and valey betweene vs and the high land. Here we spake one with another and bemoned our losses, the Admirall having spent a Mayne and a fore Course, and bent a sheate Anchor streight out, we brake an Anchor and a Cable and bent another, and almost wore asunder a wholle shott, the *Peppercorne* lost 3 Anchors and 2 Cables and

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[1] Peyton calls it the road of Galencia, *i.e.* Gollonsir.
[2] The *Dragon*.

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fretted another, the *Expedition* lost 4 Cables and Anchors; for both at Abdalacora and those high lands of Socatra the wyndes Power down with such impetuousnes and the Ground soe Rockye, that I advise all men to forbeare to Anchor vnder them, for if they be putt from their Anchors in the night they shall fall soe farr to Leward that they cannot recouer the Island but must loose Company. But if night or weather force them to Anchor, lett them Choose to ride where some lower land breakes the violence of the wynde from the hills. Wee Rodd in the second quarter of the encreasing Moone, which rose then aboue the Horizon about 12 at Noone and sett at Midnight, at which tym these wyndes beginn to rage soe long as shee is vnder the earth, and rising againe it becomes temperate. The Moone is a great ladie of weather in these parts and requires much obseruation.

August 23.—We weyed togeather, and Came to Anchor afore Tamara, the kings towne, bringinge the lowe Poynte to the East of the high sandy hill without itt E. by N., in 10 fadome water, a Mile from the Towne. Here the Sultan sent vs woord the wynds were from the hills so forceable that we should hardly ride, but advised vs to goe to Baya Delicea,[1] 2 leaugs to the East, where he would meete vs. It is a veary good Roade, deseruinge the name of delightfull for the Peaceablenes thereoff in respect of others. It is a valley of much lower hills, betweene the water and the Raggid Mountaines of Tamara. You may bringe the two little hamocks that lye on the lowe poynt without the high land to the Eastward, S.E. and the lowe land that was E. by N. in Tamara Road N.W. by W., and ride in 10 fadome within ¾ of a mile of the shoare. The latitude is 13° 5′, the variation 18° 20′. The Ground is whyte sand but Rockye, soe that you must wotch or boye your Cables.[2]

[1] Delishi.

[2] To keep them from rubbing.

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August 24.—We came to Anchor by 9 in the Morninge in Baya Delicia, where the Sultan Mett vs with all his Pompe.

Socatra is an Island in the Mouth of the Red Sea, called Anciently Dioscuria or Dioscorida, standing in 12° 55′; gouerned by a Sultan called Amar-ben-Seid, borne in the Island, the sonne of the king of Fartaque in Arabia Fœlix, called Sultan Seid-ben-Seid, who was Sultan of Socatra in the tyme of his grandfather, as this shalbe king after his father of Fartacque, and his sonne lefte at Socatra. The kingdom of Fartacque lies from 15° to 18° alonge the Coast of Arabia, and to the North to the Mountayns. Hee is at Peace with the Turke (who houldes all Arabia in Tribute, except this Cuntrie) on this Condition to send 5000 Menn in ayde of the Turke, if he requir it, to be paid by the Turke, without other acknowledgment. Thear lyes Neare the sea a Petty king about Dofar with whom he dare not Meddle, being in the Grandsignior's protection. This is the relation of Amar-Ben-Seid of Socatra. The Sultan of Socatra mett our fleete with 300 or thereabouts, havinge sett vp a tent at Baya Delecia. He rode vpon a horse, and 3 of his Chiefe seruants on two horses and one Camell, the People Marching before and behinde him, shouttinge after the Turkish manner, with two Guardes, one of souldiers which are his Cuntrimen, and 12 of his priuat Guard, hiered Gusaratts, some with Turkish bowes, some with Pistolls, some with Musketts all with good swoordes. He had a few kettell drums and one Trumpett. When the Generall went ashoar he receiued him with state and Curtesie. Hee is a subtile man, of good vnderstanding, as appeares by his gouerment and diuers answers. He Raignes soe absolutely that noe man can sell any thing but him selfe. His People sitt aboute him with great respect; his officers standing by, who take account of trade, and receiue and paye. His

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Clothes are of Suratt stuffs, after the Arabes Manner, with a Cassocke of wrought velvett, red and whytt, and another the ground gould, a very good Turbant, but barefooted. Euery night at sunne sett they stand or kneele all toward the sunn and pray, the *Xeriff* throweinge water on their heades. Their Religion is Mahometan. The Kings Towne of Tamara is built of lyme and stone whyted ouer, Battled and Pinnacled, the howses being flatt at the top. It showes faire in the Road, but when one is there, is but poore. Master Boughton[1] borrowed the kings horse, and obtayned leaue to see his house, the king sendinge a *Sheck* with him. Hee found it not answerable to the apperances, yet such as an ordinary gentellman might make a shifte with in England. His lower roomes were vsd as warehowses, one as a wardrope, wher hung along the walls some Changes of robes and 25 bookes of their law, religion, story, and Saints liues (of which I could obteyne non); but aboue noe man may Come, to see his wifes, which are 3, nor other weomen (but the ordinary are seene in the Townes, with their ears full of siluer rings). In the Church the Preist was at seruice, butt seeing Master Boughton take out his watch he soone finished, and Came and woondred. Ther was prouided 3 henns for their dinner with rise, and for drink water and Cohu,[2] blake liquor taken as hotte as may

[1] Master Humphrey Boughton, "one of His Majestie's pentioners", applied to the Company in Dec., 1614, for leave to go in the fleet as a passenger, "his desire beeinge to spend some tyme and his owne meanes in traualinge into remote kingdomes". His request was at first refused; but afterwards, finding that he was determined to go if necessary in a Dutch ship, and fearing, too, that he would carry the matter to the king, the Court decided to accede to the application, and room was accordingly found for him on the *Peppercorn*. A further motive for granting his request was that he proposed to make his way to China, and it was thought that "yf a lettre may be procured from his maiestie vnto the Emperor of China . . . good vse may bee made thereof". The letter seems to have been obtained, but Boughton was not destined to make use of it, for he died at Burhánpúr, within two months of his landing at Surat.

[2] Coffee (Arabic *kahwa*).

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be endured. At his returne the king in Complement said hee had seene a poore Place, but desired him to accept it. Ther is a Castell four square on a hill a Mile from Tamara, but hee could not gett licence to see it. The People are of 4 sorts: Arabs his cuntrimen, who it seemes are his strength and such as are not the Ancient inhabitans but Come in with the Conquest of his Ancesters, and these obey him and dare not speake without lycence (as apeared when one seemed of quallity spake, he asked him how he durst open his Mouth in his presence), but aproching kisse his hand. A seconnd sort are slaues who, when they Come to him, kisse his foote, and those doe all his worke and make his Aloese. A theird sort are, as I suppose, the ould inhabitants of the Country (but not the eldest) called Bedwynes,[1] the same which other historians haue called Jacobits, Christians that have longe dwelt there; with these he hath had a warr (as the Arabs report), and dwell in the Mountayns, very Populus, but are now at Peace, on condition to liue quietly, and to breed their Children Mahometans, which I perceiue they doe not, having noe manner of conuersation with the Arabs. The reason why I take them to be the ould Jacobite Christians mentioned by Maginus,[2] Purchase,[3] and others, is because Master Boughton sawe an ould Church of theirs in the way to Tamara, left desolate, the doore shutt but only tyde. Beeing desierous to enter yt, the *Shecke* his guide tould him it was full of spiritts; yet hee adventured in, and found an Alter with Images and a Crosse vpon yt, which he brought out. Then the *Shecke* tould him they were a people of another religion, but very loath to haue them much enquired after; as I suspect (knoweing them to be a kind of Christians) doubting wee would eyther wish

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[1] Bedawín.
[2] Giovanni Antonio Magini, the Paduan geographer (1556-1618).
[3] See the second edition (1614) of the *Pilgrimage*, p. 708.

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them better, or not suffer them to be oppressed. The 4 sortt are a Sauage People, poore, leane, naked, with long hayer, eating nothing but rootes, hidinge in Bushes, conuersing with none, afrayd of all, without howses, and almost as Sauadge as beasts ; and by conjecture the true ancient naturalls of this Island.[1]

This Island is very mountaynous and barren ; havinge some beefes, goates and sheepe, a few dates and oranges, a little rice, and nothing else for sustenance. Of Comodytie they have Aleos, which is the Juyce of a leaue like Semperuiue.[2] They make a poore Cloth of their woole for the slaues. The king had Sanguis Draconis and Indico of Lahor, but held it deare; many small Ciuitt Catts and Ciuitt. All is either the kings, or passes his handes and price. He hath a handsome Gally and Junk of Suratt, with Marriners that serue him to transport his goodes for wages by the yeare. The king hath some knowledge of Prester John, confessing him the greatest Prince in the world, above the Turke and Persian, giuinge faire reasons for his opinione. Hee hath amonge his slaues diuers Abbassines. Hearing our hoeboyes in the Generall's boate, he asked if they were the Psalms of David ; and beeing

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[1] This account of Socotra and its inhabitants may be compared with those given by Barbosa (Hakluyt Soc. ed., p. 29), John Pory (*Leo Africanus*, Hakluyt Soc. ed., i., p. 86), William Finch (*Purchas*, i, 414), and Thomas Love (*Voyages of Lancaster*, p. 165). See also for a recent description the late Mr. J. T. Bent's article in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1897. The Christianity of the islanders is dealt with in *Cosmas Indicopleustes* (Hakluyt Soc. ed., p. 119), *Cathay and the Way Thither* (i, pp. clxxi., 168, *n*), Yule's *Marco Polo* (ii, p. 342), *Travels of Varthema* (p. 290, *n*), and Herbert's *Travels* (p. 31). A curious reference to the subject in Montaigne's *Essais* (Book i, ch. 56) may also be noticed.

[2] "I vnderstood of the making Alois Suckatrina which is onelye of the leaues of Semperviues (lyke those in Spaine, Portugall and other places in Christendom). They cutt the topps and rootes awaye, and press the Juce out of the best leaues and boyle it to a certaine height, then being putt into earthen pottes and stopt verry close from the ayre (in which manner it standeth eight whole months) is become perfect Aloiis Suckatrina and is put into smale skinns merchantable to sell" (Peyton's Journal, p. 23).

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answered "yes", he replied it was the inuention of the diuell, who did invent yt for king David, who before praysed God with his lippes and hart in deuotion, but after it was lefte to senclesse instruments.[1] They burye their dead all in Tombes, and haue in great reuerance the Monuments of their Saints, wherof there haue been many, But of most account Seidy-Hachim, buried at Tamara, who being slaine 100 years since by the Portugalls once inhabiting here, apperes to them, and warnes them of dangers to ensue. They impute the violence of wyndes to his walking, and haue him in wonderfull reuerance. I never went ashoar, not knoweing what entertainment I should find in respect of the qualety I bare; but gleand up the most probable reports. If I had gone myselfe, and conferd with the king, or could haue spoken with any of his people of vnderstanding, I had enquired further to satisfie the Curious. But all the interpreters followed the Generall, that I had noe oportunitie. The Generall deliuered him a lettre from the king, which hee receiued with soe much seeming Content as if hee knewe himselfe not worthy such a fauour; and alsoe a Present from the Company, for which he returned 10 Beefes, 30 Goates, and 20 hens,[2] and at his departure some particular presents, which I vnderstand not their qualitye.

Seeing by many experiences the wyndes are in August soe violent about Abdalacora, Socatra, and betweene them and the Cape Guardfue—as is evident by Sir Henry Middleton, who stood for Socatra from Cape Guardafue the 26th of August and with much hazard of beeing putt to Leeward did in fetching the Island of Socatra spend his topesailes and both his Courses, the *Peppercorne* brake

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[1] The use of musical instruments for religious purposes is held by Muhammadans to be contrary to the teaching of the Prophet.

[2] Peyton says twenty goats, twenty hens, three bullocks, and a quantity of fruit, tobacco, butter, and rice (Journal, p. 22).

her Mayneyard and came not in two dayes after,[1] and the *Darling* escaped not without damage—And if it be Considered what losse our fleete susteyned this yeare in Cables, anchors, and Sailes to the valew of 500*li.* at least, besides the hazard of not Meeting againe, beeing soe dispersed as we had all loste sighte one of another, and after beeing Meett, of being putt from our Anchors without hope to recouer the Island ; and, which is the greatest feare and of most Consequence, that if any ship misse eyther Abdalacora from the Cape, or Socatra from Abdalacora and fall to the Sowthward, beeing then a Lee shoare, in such extremities of wynd, ther wilbe noe Possibilitye to Claw it off, and the loss of one shipp will not be Counteruayled by Aloes in 20 yeares, nor the Gayne any yeare doe more then answer the ordinary losses of such weather as eyther Sir Henry Middleton or our fleet Mett with, And that ther is noe certaintye of fetching Socatra, except the Mayne or Cape Guardafuy be made, and that outwardbound you must Come in this Monnth or sooner (which is somuch the woorse) or not at all, because the Monthsone will else be spent before you can gett Suratt : Therefore I giue my aduice that the fleete stop not at all outwarde bound at Socatra ; But, from Molalia having made Cape Guardafuy and there rested a Convenient tyme for refreshing, or attending the later end of the Monthsone if it be soone in the yeare, shape theyr Course right for Suratt. If it be objected that they shall want their vsuall refreshings, I answer: At Socatra the victualls is both Carrion and as deare as in England, goodnes Considered, the water farr to fetch and dangerous, soe that euerie fleete hath lost some men in rowling it downe a stream full of deepe holes ;[2] At

[1] See *Voyages of Lancaster*, p. 185.

[2] The *Expedition* lost a man from this cause : "the watering place is full of deape pittes and holes, ouer which the caske, being filled, must be rowled, which hee vndertooke, vnable to swimme, aduentured past his deapth and sanke downe with the caske, soe drowned" (Peyton's Journal, p. 22).

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Cape Guardafuy you shall ride at Ease, and without doubt trade plentifully and Cheape, and fishe at Pleasure; and though wee made noe experience of trade, yet we sawe People in Turbants and Clothed, who assuredly if we had stayd mought haue beenn drawne to bringe downe Cattle, for not farr to the west of that place Sir Henry Middleton and some other shipes had excellent goats and sheepe for trifles, as both his Iournall[1] and Master Barrett[2] of his owne experience haue enformed me.

When the fleete is ariued at Suratt, the shipp appoynted to returne must haue her lading prouided ready that shee may not staye past December to keepe the other shippes to Attend her safety, which they must doe or expose her to the Portugalls; and soe they may stand off to sea, and she come for Socatra with the N.E. Monsone when the season is Calme, and shee may ride by a hazer,[3] and buy Aloes both oulder, dryer, and Cheaper, for out of doubt (if it were insisted vpon) they would be had for halfe mony, halfe goodes. My reason is grounded on this experience, that although this yeare the king said hee would haue all Mony, yet after he had sould for mony, he bought swoord blads at great rates with the same Monny and diuers other Comodities. And besides all the Cloth he and his people weare are stuffes and Callicoes of Suratt, which Guseratts bring, and fetch his Monny. Therfor I see noe reason why hee should not as well take them of vs, with halfe mony, for his goodes as of them for all mony. He is vnderstanding enough and Frendly to our Nation, and wilbe drawne vnto this Course vpon the former reasons; if not, yet hee will honestly part with Mony for swoordes, stuffes, and some 2 or 3 Peeces of siluerd veluetts, or such trifles as may be fitted in England, for he bought two

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[1] See *Purchas*, i, p. 260; *Letters Received*, i, p. 57.
[2] Barwick is meant (see p. 4, *n.*).
[3] Hawser.

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watches at great rates. He hath all the year Alioes ready, and in great quantityes. Our earnestnes hinders our owne Markett. By this Course you shall saue the hazard of a whole fleete to stop in the violence of weather, for that one ship with noe hazard may dispatch, returning in that Monsone before the wynd and riding at Tamara roade smooth and Calme; from thence to Molalia for refreshing, and soe to the Cape; whereby men shall come in health and in sommer vpon our Coaste; for our late returnes, few refreshings (by reason of hast) kills vp our Men, hazardes your goodes, and discreditts the voyadge.

August 31.—At night we weighed and stood off our Course for Suratt.

September 13.—This night I was by reckoning from the W. end of Diu 6 leaugs off, it bearing E. ⅓ N. We sounded, and had 36 fadome, Oazy ground. Then wee shortned saile till Midnight, sounding euery two howers; and, shoalinge easily, at midnight we lay a Trye.

September 14.—At fower in the Morning we sett Saile and stood N.E. by N. to make the land of Diu, which by 6 we sawe, a round homock 6 leaugs off. Beeing shott somewhat in, in 20 fadome water wee steered ouer E.S.E. to make E. ½ S. way with little wynde; a pretty tyde.

September 15.—We steerd away E.S.E. for the mayne, euerie two howers sounding in 17 fadome water, havinge the Ebbs and floudes on our broadside both wayes, Northering as much one way as we Sowthered the other. Towards Morning we had the shoaling of a sand to the North 12 fadome water. At 7 a Clocke, the wynde beeing veary weake and the Ebb hard bent, we came to Anchor in 13 fadome, all softe ground. At Noone, the wynde Comminge vp at N.E., at the begininge of the floud we weighed and stood away S.E. by E., being able to lye noe Nearer. The floud running N.E., we droue soe to the North that at 4 a Clock wee had a shoaling hard sand 10

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fadome North. Loofeing up E. it shoald againe, and then we stood close vp Sowth, the wynd beeing veered to the W.S.W., but wee were enclosed with a hooke of the same sand in 8 fadome water. Then we bare vp into 10 fadome and came to Anchor, resoluing to ride all night and to turne it out S.W. with the Next Ebb. It highed here 3 fadome water. Latitude 20° 28′.

September 16.—At 6 in the Morning at the first of Ebb we weighed and turnd out S.W. lyeing one way Sowth (till wee came into 6 fadome and a halfe a short boord right vpon the sand) the other way N.W. deepning by the edge to 14 fadom. At 10 a clock we found deeper water S.S.E. 17, 18, and 19 fadom. Our boates and the *Expedition* gott ouer the end of the sand in the Morning in 6 fadom and a halfe, beeing butt Narrow. But wee durst not come Neare yt, but turning out gott about the poynt, and when the Ebb was donn came to an Anchor in 20 fadom, softe ground, latitude 20° 24′. Wee durst not stand away vpon the flood, because we were vncertaine whether we were over the Eastermost sand or betweene that and the other we felte the day before, being Newly Come out with much trouble. At 3 a Clock in the Afternoone we sawe the land, beeing hidden before in a fogg, bearing from E. by S. to E.N.E. along, 8 leaugs off; wherby wee found we were gott about the Eastermoste sande into the Channell betweene that and the Mayne. Then we weighed with the rest of the floud and stood away S.E., making by reason of the variation and the floud an E. way some 3 leaugs; and then, the Ebb being come and little wynd, we came to Anchor in the same depth 20 fadom water, soft ground; Damon bearing E.N.E. 5 leaugs off, and the Poynt of the sand W.N.W. and from Damon W. by S. in the latitude of 20° 25′.

Soe that I will giue this generall rule to all men that come for Suratt that if they desire to make the land of

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Diu, and being 6 leaugs off, about 20 fadom water, they must stand off to the Sowthward S.S.E., the variation considered, to make a S.E. way to goe Cleare of all the shoales, and in that Course they neede not stop Ebb nor floud, having any gale, prouided they take as many Ebbes as floodes; soe they shall haue fine shoaling, neuer vnder 20 fadome, till they make the Mayne, toward which they may stand bouldly into 12 fadome; and after, the floud will lead them alonge the land, borroweing vpon the shoaling of the Mayne and of the Eastermost sand, to keepe the Channell; both the sandes lye N.E. and S.W. & an indifferent Channell betweene them; but it is veary daingerous for those that knowe it not to fall amonge them, and veary difficult to gett out, beeing hooked in 3 wayes, though ther is 6 or 7 fadom water ouer the Southermost end of them. But I am of opinione it is better and safer not to make Diu at all, but, being gotten into 20° or 20° 10′ at the most, to stand away E.S.E. to make an E. Sowtherly way to the Mayne, for the shoaling of the Mayne is as good and as bould as at Diu, from 10 fadom to 20, and soe in sight of land shoaling to 12 fadom 3 leaugs off; wherby you shall goe out of all dainger of the shoales, and noe aduise from Diu by frigatts shall prevent your Comminge in. Off Damon ther lyes a shoale 2 leaugs off the shoare.

September 17.—At Noone we weighed with the floud and stood in E. by N. 19, 18, and 17 fadom, the wynd at W.S.W.; and Nearing the land, we stood N.E. by N. and N.N.E. 16, 15, 14, and 13 fadom some 9 leaugs, the Coast trending from Damon to Suratt N.N.E. The floud setting N.E., it being spent we came to Anchor in 13 fadome 6 leaugs shortt of Suratt.

The land at Damon is high. To the sowthward ther is a round hill much higher; to the Northward somewhat lower land then Damon, showeing diuers round hommockes;

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and the most Northerwardmost high land seene is somewhat ragged, with little Copped hills vpon it, and betweene it and the water lowe land, the trees seeminge to stand in the sea. The Towne of Damon showes 3 whyte towers or Castelles.

September 18.—In the Morning at flood we weighed and stood N.N.E. some 3 howers along the Coaste, being all lowe land, disçerning only the trees and some Juncks and frigetts standing in, and came to anchor in 9 fadom water, 3 leaugs shortt of the barr of Suratt, bearing N.E. Our deepthes were from 13 fadom, 12, 11, 10, and 9.

At Noone with the flood wee stood away N.N.E. along the shoare 9 and 10 fadome water, some 3 leaugs to seaward of the riuer of Suratt. On the Sowthside theroff in a tufft of trees ther standes a whyte house like a Tower,[1] from whence discerning Swally[2] edginge in as the Channell laye, we had 15, 16, and 17 fadom, and beeing shott a litle to the Northward we came to Anchor in 8 fadom water, soft ground, close by the edge of a sand. The *Pepercorne* and *Expedition*, beeing two Cables lenght ahead, Anchored in 6 fadom. At lowe water the *Peppercorne* being somewhat nearer came aground, but tooke noe hurtt. It highes here 3 fadom flood.

September 19.—In the Morninge a frigatt Came to the W. of vs, which we supposing it had benn a Portugalls spie, made some fewe shott to fetch her in: but shee stood away for Cambaya, beinge one of the Cuntrie. At 8 a Clocke

[1] "A highe white buylding called a pagode or churche" (Peyton's Journal, p. 28).

[2] A roadstead situated a few miles north of the mouth of the Taptí River. The English ships usually anchored here, as the river entrance was too shallow to permit of large vessels entering it. In after years, the beach during the stay of the fleet presented the aspect of a fair, being lined with booths and full, as Fryer says, "of two sorts of Vermin, the Fleas and Banyans". In his time the Company's servants had a house at the waterside, where they superintended the landing and lading of cargoes, Surat itself being ten miles distant by road.

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we mand our fower long boates, and sent ashoare, wher wee found ready one Bidolph[1] a factor, and one Robart that had liued long with the Portugalls. They came presently aboord the Generall, and after to me, relating that ther was not one Portingall frigatt on the Coast, but that they labored a Peace with the Mogull on condition to Bannish the English, but had yet effected nothing;[2]. The new viceroy vnheard of at Goa; some of the factors sicke, and Master Edwardes[3] aboue with the King, but noe Newes of extreordinarie fauoure; Mochrebchan[4] remoued to the Court, and a New Gouernor for the Prince[5] sent to Suratt, for whose Mayntaynance that Prouince is lately dessigned; he bears a faire countenance to the English, but effects little. Ther was noe lading come downe for a ship, nor any Newes of those gone vp to prouid yt; But Bidolf tould me in 15 dayes they Could prouide to lade one ship with Indico—his performance I knowe not.

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1 William Biddulph, who had gone out with Captain Best in 1612. Keeling placed him in charge of the factory at the Mogul court, and he was consequently with Roe nearly the whole of the latter's stay in the country. He returned to England in 1623. Roe thought him "faithfull . . . but a little opiniastre, and of good ordinary abilitye".

2 See Roe's letter of the 24th November, 1615 (given later).

3 William Edwards, the English representative at the Mogul court, had been sent out in Downton's fleet (1614) as cape merchant. On his arrival at Surat he was despatched to court as the English representative, but, though painstaking and conscientious, he was not at all a success in that position. The factors complained of his dilatoriness, while his mild character induced him to put up with slights in a way which by no means smoothed the path of his energetic successor. After Roe's arrival at Ajmere, Edwards proceeded to Surat, where he was censured by the other factors in consultation, and sent home in disgrace. There is no further record of him.

4 Mukarrab Khán, who, as viceroy of Gujárát, had been the persistent enemy of the English. His name was Hassú, and the title by which he is always known was given him for his skill in surgery. Jahángír in his memoirs speaks of him as "one of my most confidential officers". As mentioned later, he soon resumed his post in Gujárát, and retained it until displaced by Prince Khurram. Mukarrab Khán then received the government of Behar, whence, three years later, he was transferred to that of Agra. He was pensioned off at the beginning of Sháh Jahán's reign, and died some years later at the age of ninety.

5 Prince Khurram, third and favourite son of Jahángír, and afterwards the Emperor Sháh Jahán.

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September 20.—In the Morning the Generall dispatched Bidolf ashoare with a lettre signed by the Generall to the Gouernor of Suratt, to signifie my arriuall; the Coppie I keepe in my boock.[1] At two a Clocke wee weighed, having sounded the barr 3 foote at lowe water, and with the last quarter ebb stood back two mile to the edge of the barr, and some what nearer the land, and Came to Anchor at 5 fadom and a halfe at Lowe water, bringing the lowe smooth poynte with the two highe Palmeto trees S. by E. and the Northwardmost land showeing like an Island N.N.E.

September 21.—The Generall sent ashoare, but had no returne. The *Expedition* gott over the Barr.[2]

September 22.—A Messenger came from the Gouernor of Suratt with answer of the lettre, a Complement that I should be welcome, and if I would dessigne the daye he would send 30 horse for my traine, and his Commanders to meette me, and in all things studdie to giue me that Contentment his power or the means of the Place did affoord; and if the Merchants could find a howse emptie, he would Command it for me. But because hee offered me none, I sent to take one.

September 23.—I sent ashoare about my house, and with a Complement to the Gouernor this Message, that, vnder-

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[1] See folio 56 of the MS. It announces that in consequence of the friendly reception of former messengers and the agreement made with Captain Best, the King of England, "for the better establishment and Confirmation of the said happy amytie and loue" has sent a "nobleman of his Court and Chamber, with letters of Credence and rich Presents . . . . authorised with full Commission vnder the Great Seale of England and firma of his Majestie as his Ambassador as well to Congratulate the said mighty King the Great Mogull as to propound, treate, and conclude of sundry Matters of Consequence;" and it gives notice that the envoy proposes to land and repair to some town of rest (having been long at sea) until the pleasure of the Emperor is known as to his journey to the Court.

[2] "Soe that I could comaund boeth sea and land round me with my ordnance, by which meanes our boates going and retoarning from the shoare weare secured from pilfering vessells & friggottes, which otherwise would haue intercepted them, as in former voyadges" (Peyton's Journal, p. 29).

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standing the Custome of the Kings officers to search euerie thing that came ashoare, euen to the Pocketts of mens Cloathes on their backs, for Custome, I, beeing an Ambassador from a Mightie King, did expect to haue all things appertayninnge to myselfe and my Followers free by priuiledg; giuinge him the woord of one of my qualetye that there should not be landed vnder that protection one penny woorth of Marchandize, and that if any such affront were offered me, I would returne to the shipes, vntill I had order from the King his Master.

This day I dispatched a lettre to Master Edwardes at Adiumere the Mogulles Court, which the Generall signed with me, the Coppie whereof I keepe.[1]

September 24.—Answer was returned that it was the Custome of this Cuntrie that nothing could passe but by the Custome house, and thear to be searched; but, because they would doe me as much fauour as they could answere, the Gouernor would send an officer to the waterside to take note of those things belonging to me and seale them, and they should goe without stopp to my house, wher the Customer should Come and visitt them, but not in the nature of a search, but only to be able to answere they had seene what I landed; for myselfe and my followers, they should be free from all offer of affront. After some dispute with the Messenger, I yeeilded to yt, and returned answer that on the morow, the 25, I would land my Chests and on the 26 come ashoare in expectation of the horses and Company offered and the Honorable reception promised by the Gouernor.

September 25.—I landed my Chests and prouitions, with directions to suffer them to be sealed, but not opened; and to deliuer them at my house and to prepare yt next day. This day came a handsome frigatt from Cambaya with a

[1] See f. 56 of the MS. It announces Roe's arrival and directs Edwards to acquaint the King therewith.

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principall Seruant of the Gouernors aboord the Generall, and with Complements of Frendship and desire of trade to theyr towne as a head City. He gaue the Generall a Present of sweetmeates and some fewe stuffs in the Name of the Gouernor, and desiring to buy some varietyes or toyes for theyr Master, especially enquiring for English Swyne for the Mogull, in which beast hee takes infinite delight, having had two from one ship the last yeare; telling the Generall he should find the new Gouernor of Suratt a Clowne and a frend of our enemyes, but that if wee would make our residence at Cambaya we should receiue notable Content. The Generall tould them ther was an Embassador sent by the king of England, that was the next Morning to land, a man of qualetye: and vntill he sawe what reception he should fynd, and how theyr busines stood with the factory, with the Principalls wher-off he had not spoken, he could resolue nothing; but in other Complements gaue them Content. At this name of an Ambassador they laughd one vpon another; it beeing become ridiculous, so many hauing assumed that title, and not performed the offices; and though the Generall did endeauour to make them better vnderstand yt, they would not, and so did neuer offer to uisitt me. Besides, when the Generall dealt with the *Makadow*[1] of Swally (a frend to the English) that they must not esteeme me in the qualetye of my forerunners, with all the right he Could doe to honor his Majestie, yet he when he was ashore answered he could not tell, nor any else, but that I might be an Imposture as well as the rest; and this was dayley objected unto vs, euen from the Cheefe of Suratt. I mention these only to lett the Company vnderstand how meanly an Embassador was esteemed at my landing; how they subiected themselues to all searches and barbarous Customes, and became

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[1] Hindustani *mokuddum*, from the Arabic *mukaddam*, a headman.

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sutors to the Gouernors and great men, who, as appears by the discourse Following, sufficiently vnderstand the rights belonging to that qualetye ; and that therefore, if it seeme to any that shall heare of my first carriadge that I was eyther too stiff, to Punctuall, too high, or to Prodigall, lett them Consider I was to repayre a ruynd house and to make streight that which was crooked. If I had beene the first that euer landed vnder that title, I would haue done noe less ; and I best know that see yt, these men triumph ouer such as yeeld, and are humble enough when they are held vp. The Kings Honor was engaged more deepely then I did expect, and I was resolued eyther to rectifye all or lay my life and fortune both in the ground.

September 26.—A sine beeing made from land that the Suratts were come ready to receiue me, I landed, accompanyed with the Generall and the Captaines and the Principall Merchannts ; The Generall having first sent 100 shott by Captaine Harris to make me a Court of Guard, and the shippes in their best Equipage giuing me their ordinance as I passed ; with his trumpetts and Musique ahead my boate in the best manner he Could, which I only signify for acknowledgment vnto him.[1] At my landing the cheefe officers of Suratt with about 30 Companions wer sitting vnder an open Tent vpon good Carpetts, in graue order. Comming almost to them and they not rising, I stayd and sent them woord I would not come farthur if they satte still ; whervpon they all rose; and I entered the tent and went streight vp and tooke my place in the middest of them, turning my face toward the Generall

[1] "The Lorde Ambassador landed, being accompanied by the generall, captains, and merchants of the fleet (on shoare), for his Lordshipps better grace ; alsoe fower score menn in armes with shott and pyke redye ordred vpon the sand in rancks against his landing for guard, and 48 peeces great ordnance discharged from our fleete ; this daye our shipps were all hansomlye fitted with their waistclothies, ensignes, flagges, pendentes and streamers" (Peyton's Journal, p. 29).

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and the English, who stood right before vs. They by an enterpreter bade me welcome with a long Complement, which was payd in the same mettle. And I added to yt that the Kings Majestie hauing receiued assurance from the great Mogull of the good affection borne to his Majestie and our Nation, and vnder Confidence of the *firma*[1] sent by Captain Best, to receiue his Ambassador in the behalfe of the Merchants trading in his Dominions, had sent me with full commission as his Ambassador, as well to congratulate the happy frendship begunn betweene too soe Mighty Princes and their subiects, as also to assure a readines in the Kings Majestie on his part to Continew the same inviolably; and to propound vnto the great Mogull many other matters of great Consequence both for the maynten-ance and securitye of the leauge already treated on, and for the Mutuall good of the Subiects of both the kings: That I did receiue yt as an assurance of the good affection of the Great Mogull and off his Commanders and ministers in these parts that they did soe much Honor the King my Master to meete me in so respectiue manner, and furnishe mee with horses to theyre towne, for which I gaue them thancks, and did not doubt that my Comming would proue beneficiall and acceptable to them: and that I was ready to take horse and accompany them to Suratt to repose my selfe vntill I could be prepared to aduance toward the Court. Then they begann a new tune, that I would be pleasd to be Content that all my Company might be searched, according to the Custome of the Cuntrye. I replyed it was strange to me to heare any motion from them contrary to the promise of the Gouernor, whervpon only I sett my foote ashore: That I was the Ambassador of a Mightie and free Prince: that I would neuer dishonnor my

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[1] This word is familiar as signifying an order, patent, or passport (Pers. *farmán*). As noted in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, Roe sometimes writes it *firma*, as if suggestive of the Italian for "signature".

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Master so much, whose Person I bare, as to subiect myselfe to so much slauery: I would engage my Honor (which I esteemed as my life) that no follower of myne had the worth of a *Pice*[1] of trade or Marchandice: and that in Europe and most Parts of Asia all Ambassadors and theyr traynes were so far priuiledged as not to be subiect to Common and barbarous vsage: that seeing I found so little assurance in that woord which had drawne me ashoare, I would retyre to the shipes, to attend the Mogulles pleasure: for that I could not answere it with my head to loose the right and freedome due to the Embassador of a Christian king. They answered it was also more then the Gouernor could avow to let them passe vnsearched: it was a great curtesy don to my person, and sufficient acknowledgment of me, all others pretending my place having neuer had so much honor:[2] that it was absolutely the Custome of this Cuntrie, and they Could not breake it. I replyed: I had thought that they had vnderstood that free kyngs and theyre Ambassadors had beene aboue ordinary customes; which since they would not take notice off, I would not perswade them to breake theyrs, and I was resolued I would not dishonor my selfe; but I would send to the Great Mogull and attend his Majesties answere: that I hoped they had come to entertayne and honor me, not to enslaue and entangle me with barbarous Customes. And so after much dispute I turnd about and departed to our boates. Then by the mediation of messengers they offered that I should choose to my self 5 persons, whom I would, that in honor of me should goe free; and that they only would for a Cerimony sake lay theyr handes about the rest, not as to search but to embrace them. So I landed

[1] A copper coin of the value of about one-third of a penny.

[2] Edwards and his company had had to submit to this indignity the previous year, being "verie familyarlye searched all of vs to the bottom of our pocketts, and nearer too, modestlie to speake yt" (Dodsworth's MS. narrative.—I.O. Records).

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againe and repeating the offer by my interpreter, that I was content they should lay theyr handes vpon my seruants, not with intent to search but to embrace, calling to wittnes the Generall, what were my Conditions, they intend not to search but to embrace. They desired me not to take yt in ill part that they did not yeild in all my desire; that they would signifie to the great Mogull I would not yeild to that Custome they Claymed, and that they did it in Honor there, that they might send before to the officers of Suratt that all Ceremonyes were ended; because, if the Gouernor should insist vpon yt when I came to Suratt, it would be more dishonor to returne or suffer it publiquely, and that this would preuent farther question. Whervpon I called five of my Company to stand behynd me, expecting what they would doe to the rest. But seeing them stand still I asked if all were done, that wee might goe to horse. They answered they were ready. Soe taking leaue of the Generall and all the rest, Accompanied with Master Boughton, Master Barkeley[1] and four other Merchants, I tooke horse with all my followers; the Surattes keeping me Company. When I was about halfe way they sent to me that I would call three or four of the better sort to ryde with me, and that they would follow in order, and that after them my men might Come in ranke, pretending to enter the Towne in this fashion. I, doubting nothing, appoynted yt soe, and called three or four to me, and one of the Principall of them to ride with me, euery man obseruinge this order, and some distance betweene me and the Surattes, and betweene the Surattes and my seruants. They were about 50 horse and 200 foote, and all my Company were 23. On the Suddeyne, I being before, they stayd, and vnder pretence of drinck called my men, who

[1] George Berkeley, afterwards President at Bantam, where he died in March, 1617. His travels in Eastern Europe are chronicled in Purchas's third volume (pp. 625, 631).

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wisely came, and beeing among them, they tooke houlde of their horses and offered by force to search them. Master Wallis breaking out came vp after me, and tould me this treachery; wheron I turnd my horse, and with all speed rode backe to them, I confess too angry. When I came vp, I layd my hand on my swoord, and my men breake throwgh and came about me. Then I asked what they entended by soe base treachery: I was free landed, and I would die soe, and if any of them durst touch any belonging to me, I bade him speake and shew himselfe. Then they desired me not to take yt in ill part: it was done in frendship. I called for a Case of Pistolls and, hanging them at my saddle, I replyed those were my Frendes, in them I would trust: that they had dealt treacherously with me, and soe I did esteeme them. They desiered me to goe on: that all was mistaken I answered I would returne to the shipes but that they would basely suppose it to bee feare: therfore I would goe on to seeke Justice; but tould them they should not mingle with my trayne: I tooke them for enemyes to the King my Master, that soe sought my dishonor; but that eyther they or I would goe before and the other follow, for if any came among myne they should expect the entertaynment of one that was highly offended. It were much vanety to say in what a feare the best of them were, beeing so many; but the truth is not ashamed. So we rode on, in seuerall troupes, they before. On the way they stayd all in a shade, and called to me as I passed, but I did not looke towards them. Then they sent after, desiring me to eate a Plantine, which I refused, with answer: vntill I had satisfaction for the affront done my seruants, I would not receiue any thing as Curtesye. They replyed they had searched None, and did mean only to excecute the Ceremony agreed on at the Tent, without farther purpose of Injurye. So I tooke this for answere and left them at theyr refreshing, till I

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came to the water syde ouer against the Towne. But noe boates would Carrie me vntill they arriued. At last they Came, and with many good woordes, did assure me they had no purpose to Injure mee; that they only entended to doe what I yeeilded too, there in priuat, that they might certifie all was finished, least the officers of the Custome howse (that knew no Ciuility) should stay me at the enterance of the Towne; and perswaded me to be yet Content withall. I answered I was euer equall with my woorde, and that though they had taught me to breake my woord, it was a lesson I scornd to learne: but I would bee a wittnes of theyr fashion, least they vnder Coulor of Ceremony did vse villany. Soe I entered a boate with the Officers and called five to mee, Master Boughton, my Chaplain, and three seruants, who Came in free. The rest stood to enter after this Ceremony of embracing. The first that Came they playnly, insteed of embracing, offered to feele his Pocketts without; whereat I rose and sayd I would not endure yt; and in extreame Cholar telling them it was a Custome to be vsd to rouges and theeues and not to free men: I was resolued not to returne to my Cuntry with shame; I would rather dye there with Honor. Whervpon they lett all of them Come to me without more woordes; and smiling desired me to be appeased, seeing I was satisfied in all. So soone as I was putt off they tempted me a New (knowing I could not now goe back): I must goe see the Gouernor, before I went to my house. I anwered I was weary and vnfitt for visitation. They tould me it was the Custome and I could not refuse yt. Then I saw how euery way they besett me. I sayd playnly I would not nor could be Compelled: that in all their dealinges ther was new falshood, I was resolued: They could not but vnder trust haue cercumvented me: That I durst not answere visiting the Gouernor vntill he had visitted mee: that I doubted not he, beeing borne a

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Persian, vnderstood the right due vnto mee : if not, yet I would rather returne then loose it. In this dispute we arriued att the stayres to enter the Towne, whereas the Gouernors brother with many attendants to Conduct me to the Castle. But, after some few woordes betweene them, he bad me welcome, and desiered me to take my rest in my howse this night: that to morrow would be fitter for Ceremony. I gladly and shortly accepted yt, and tooke horse, the sackbotts of the Towne goeing before and many following me. I gott my house, resoluing it should be my Castle. But, Comming in, I found, Contrary to all faith, that my necessaries sent before were kept at the Custome house, and would not be deliuered without search. Wherevpon I sent to the Gouernor that it was strange to me to receiue soe many discourtesyes after his woord Past, but that I doubted not he would vpon better aduise giue me Content the next day, it beeing to late at Present : I only desired my bed and such provisions as I could not want.[1] Which was granted, and a message withall that on the Morrow I should receiue the rest without delay. Soe I was satisfyed with hope, and ended a wearisome day.[2]

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[1] *I.e.* could not do without. Mun (*England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*) advises that, in selling goods to foreign nations, special profit should be made out of those "which they cannot want."

[2] Terry (p. 173) mentions an incident of this day to which Roe makes no allusion. It may be quoted as an example of the disorderliness amongst the English subordinates which was a constant cause of friction with the authorities at almost every port frequented by the Company's ships.

"When my Lord Ambassadour at first arrived at Surat, it so was, that an English Cook he carried with him, the very first day of his comming thither, found a way to an Armenian Christians house, who sold wine in that place, they call Armenian wine. . . . . The Cook had his head quickly over-freighted with it, and then staggering homeward, in his way met the Governors Brother of Surat, as he was riding to his house ; the Cook made a stand, staying himself up upon his sword and scabbard, and cry'd out to the Governours Brother : *Now thou heathen dog.* He not understanding his foul language replyed civilly in his own : *Ca-ca-ta* [*kyá kahtá*], which signifies : What sayest thou ? The Cook answered him with

September 27.—I sent to the Custome house for my stuff, but it was refused me, except I would concent it should be opened there. I answered I would neuer agree to any condition Contrary to the priuiledge I claymed as my right and Contrary to that conclusion I made before my landing: I was a stranger to such doublings: but that I was resolued to lett them rott there, and not be further behoulding to him, but would dispatch a messenger to the Great Mogull of the faythlesse dealing and barbarous vsage of me, beeing Ambassador to a mightie King in leauge with him, and come a far Journy vpon his royall woord: and that they should farther forbeare to putt new deuices vpon me: I would not be wrought on vpon any pretence. Hee sent me woord I should take my Course. Within an hower he sent me a Messenger to perswade me to come visitt him, and that then he would bring me to my house & do me all Honor, and all my desires should be fullfilled. I replyed it was too late to offer me Curtesyes, especially vnder pretence of dishonoring my Master: That it was the Custome of Europe to visitt those of my qualety first, and that I durst not breake yt in penaltye of my head, haveinge expresse Command from my Master to Mayntayne the Honor of a free king, and to visitt none but such as first did that respect due to his Majestie: and that therfore I would neuer doe yt. He returned me answere it was the Custome of this Cuntry that all Embassadors did first Come to the Gouernors, and that he was seruant to a Great King

his sword and scabbard, with which he stroock at him, but was immediatly seised on by his followers, and by them disarm'd and carried to Prison. The Ambassadour had present intelligence of the misbehaviour of his drunken servant, and immediatly sent word unto the Governours Brother that he was not come thither to patronize any disorderly person, and therefore desir'd him to do with him what he pleased; upon which he presently sent him home, not doing him the least hurt. But before I leave this storie, it will not be amiss to enquire who was the *Heathen dog* at this time, whether the debaucht drunken Cook who call'd himself a Christian, or that sober and temperate Mahometan who was thus affronted."

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as well as I: that no man could be a better man than he, exept he were made so by his Master: That all other that pretended to be embassadors before me did not only come, but sue to the Gouernors, had their personns and goodes publiquely searched, which had not beene done to me, nor should not be offered to the prouisions remayning if I would see him: And that hee was no way inferior to any former Gouernor. I replyed: for the Custömes of Embassadors to visitt Gouernors I did know the Contrary by the Persian; and that I did beleeue he did neuer receiue any at this Port, nor euer from a Christian King; and hee beeing Gouernor for the Prince (as yet a subject) I could not thinck he wronged himselfe to visitt me that did represent the Person of a King: But my businesse here was not to dispute titles: I was not sent to him, and therefore would not see him: for the prescedentes of former men, they were noe rules to me that was a full Ambassador, and they, though sent by the king, yet were but Agents to prepare my way and to negotiate in the behalfe of the Honourable Company: But because I did desire to giue him all reasonable satisfaction, if he would Honor my Master so much as to see me and giue me welcome, I would showe him my Commission vnder the great seale of England, and his Master's *firma* conditioning to recieue an Ambassador with all due respect, which I had in keeping, and vnder Confidence wheroff the King had sent me, wherby he might receiue assurance it was no disparagement to him; and the next day I would visitt him in requitall, which I could Alsoe hardly answere, before I had presented my selfe before his Master: But if hee were not purposed, I would not perswade him to breake his pretended Custome, and desiered him not to expect that I would disobey and dishonor my Master: but leauing Ceremonyes apart, I did looke for, according to his promise, my prouisions detayned in the Custome house. Then hee

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sent me answere he would not nor durst see me first, but that, if I would Come to him, he would Come forth of his house and receiue me in the place of Audience: if not, I must be contented to haue my Chests searched. I answered: I card not for them: the breach of his woord was enough: but to visitt him in his Place of audience was a proposition most obsurd: it was as much as I would doe to his Master. But because these Ceremonyes should not hinder our businesse, I said if he would meete me in an indifferent Place a horsebacke, when neyther might be before other, I would Condescend, and soe neyther of us should wronge his Master, though in that he brake all rule of Curtesie: if not I desired him to trouble me with no more Articles: I was resolued to keepe my howse and expect his Masters answer to the affrontes done to me. Thus we wore out the day and yt rested. Whervpon hee Commanded none in the Towne to sell vs anything but victualles, and imprisoned some that did; Master Barkley and the Merchantes, thincking this night to returne to the shipes, could not be suffered, nor any from them to Come to vs. This made me somewhat Iealous of treachery, but breake not my sleepe.

September 28.—In the Morning the Merchants went to Aske leaue to depart; beeing warned by me to make no motion concerning me, but to gett aboord and I would trye it out with him. But they were delayed till after dinner, basely begging of Presents that he did expect, and withall sayd: your Embassador lookes I should visitt him; what Iewell or diamond will he giue me? and so, only provoking guifts, dismised them. After noone they sollicited him againe, and in answere of his desire of presents sayd the first sent him, beeing small, was only at their first arriuall: but that there was entended a better present for him, but it was kept vntill they saw what entertaynment he would giue the Kings Ambassador, and Could not be

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deliuered vntill hee had receiued better satisfaction, who was so farr from seeking to buy his fauour that he had Commanded not to deliuer yt on such Conditions: and that presents were giuen of Curtesy, not off duty, and to expect any from the Embassador, they had Commandement to say he came not as a sutor, and he should expect no more from him then he deserued. Whervpon, after some Consultation and woordes betweene him and other of the kings officers, that he Could not answere his vsage of me, and it was in vayne to expect more, they saw my resolutions, he gaue leaue for my Chests to be brought to my howse sealed, and to bee seene there according to our first agreement; and licenced all English to returne to the shipes, and sent the Cheefe Customer, his brother and some others to visitt my provisions. But, it beeing late, they would stay but openinge two or three that I had most vse off. I saw them at their departure and only spake of the Injuryes somewhat roughly, which they excused and tooke their leaue. This night the Merchanntes returned to the Generall, who was glad to heare any Newes of vs, beeing very doubtfull, seeing none in two dayes could passe betweene vs. I wrote him to stand out, for I was resolued to bring these People to a better vnderstanding or to perish in yt; but I lefte yt to him whether hee would send him a Present or no, seeing it was intimated that after I had my prouisions according to promise and was Content he should haue one; but in no case to deliuer any in my Cause or to buy me better vsage.

September 29.—The Morning passd without farther entercourse, only the People were still forbidden trade with vs. In the Euening came his brother with the Principall of the Towne to visitt the rest of my goodes; which havinge almost finished, they desiered to speak with me. I sent for them vp; and, beeing sate, They tould me the Gouernor sent them to desire me not to be afrayd nor sad

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for any thing past: ther was no harme intended me: that I should Command anything in the Towne: and what was done was but for the Mayntenance of their ancient Priuiledges; with a Multitude of Complements. I answered: I thancked the Gouernor and them for any thing I could call a Curtesye, but of these good woordes I saw small effects: for feare, I esteemed them so just as not to betray their Masters fayth, but I could better tell how to be angry for these discurtesies then to feare any thing in his Power: and for their priuiledges, they were to be excerciced on ordinary persons and not vpon my quality. They made many excuses and professions of all loue and respect to me, saying they had 3 years beene stopped vp by the Portugalls, who were robbers, for our sakes; and that, hearing the Gouernor of Cambaya had sent a frigatt to entreat trade, they came to me to aduertise me that the Cambayan was a frend to the Portugall and labored a Peace: that they were our ancient frendes and would remayne soe, and desired me to forgett all things past and to be a means that no goodes might goe for Cambaya, but be landed at theyr Towne: it beeing now the Princes Port, wee should dishonor yt if we sought other trade, who should be our frend and protector in that Cuntrye, and that we should haue all good Content from them. I replyed: these were good woordes, but they Came from desire of proffitt and not from good harts: For the Portugalls, it might soe come to passe that eyther a peace might be made on all parts, and theyr ports open by our means, or at least they should not be injuryed in our presence: that the King my Master had much sence of the Injuryes offered his subjects and his allyes for theyr sake, and I had instructions concerning yt for theyr good: and bade them remember that our fleete in the last yeare defended their frontire, the Vizeroy purposing to take Suratt; and soe in Generall tearmes gaue them Content.

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For the trade to Cambaya, I said it was true the Gouernor desiered the remoue of trade, but nothing was yet done: if I sawe effectes of these promises, we weare not soe vnconstant to forsake ould frendes to seeke New: we honored the Port for the Princes sake, whose fauour the Company would study to meritt: but that if they would not giue such dispatch and such Price as others would, it was vnreasonable for me to motion to the General, who had to doe with the landing and sale of goodes: but if they would perform these Conditions or such other as the General should propound, I would write to him, who would doe nothing without my consent in yt; in the mean tyme I desired the Commandement not to sell vs necessaryes might be recalled in sine of faythfull meaning; which was promised. Then I offered them drincke, which they refused, beeing *Ramdam*, but sayd after it was finished they would come daylie and sitt and eate with me. I tould them I would giue no presente, seeing it begett an ill Custome: but if they had seene any trifles of myne, as kniues or such, which they liked, I would bestow them willingly. They said it was theyr parts first to presente me, and therfore would take noething; and so wee parted.

September 30.—In the Morning they returned with new Complements, telling me the prohibition was withdrawn: that all my desires should be accomplished; and that the Gouernor would visitt me after dinner, and at night goe to the ships to Conclude in all things with the General: iterating theyr feare we should trade with the Cambayans & urdging me to dispatch a lettre to the General that I had receiued Content, and to perswade him to land all his goodes at this Port; which I promised to doe as farr as it concerned mee, having the night before giuen the General aduise of their faire offers and vsage of me, and that (though then I had noe knowledge that the Gouernor would visitt me) I would not Ceremony should hinder

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busines ; for I beeing resolued not to see him, lost no honor, and so had as much Contentment as I did now expect. Whervpon he sent him a good present in his name, that was deliuered him about Noone this day. This made him thinck, as I suppose, he needed not looke after mee : from the other place Came benefitt ; and so Changd his purpose not to visitt me, but to goe right out to Swally. But receiuing aduertisment of yt, I sent presently to him, to tell him if hee would ride twelve mile to visitt the General and neglect me, that was the Kings Ambassador, it was so great an affront, that I tooke yt woorse then any other thing : Therfore I desired him to aduise better, for the General could not nor would receiue him, having so neglected his Master, and that I had sent a Post to him to signifye so much ; which I had done, and receiued from the General very woorthy and respectfull satisfaction. Then answere was returnd at 4 a Clocke he would Come to me, desiering all might be forgotten : his vsage to Come should wittnesse for his hart toward me. In the euening he came very well accompanyed and in good equipage after the manner of the Country, clothed in linnen and Persian Cloth of Gould very rich.[1] I met him at the doore, and soe ledd him in. He goeing rudely like a horse forward gott before me, which thincking he did on purpose, I crossed the way and was at the stayers foote before him ; and so telling him I would lead him in, a seruant of his puld me and said I might not goe before the Gouernor ; but the Gouernor

[1] The Governor of Surat, who now appears in person on the scene, was originally a body-servant of Prince Khurram, named Mahmud Beg. Despatched to court with the news of the submission of Umra Sing, the Udaipur Rájá, he received from the delighted emperor a handsome present and the title of Zúlfikar Khán, by which he is always designated in the present work. On the Prince receiving the government of Surat, he sent Zúlfikar Khán thither as his deputy ; and it was doubtless his reliance on the protection of his master (whose feeling towards the foreigners he well knew) that induced him to go so far in his ill-treatment of Roe.

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thrust him back and followed me. When we were sett in the Chamber, he begann with many Complements of welcome and excuse of any discurtesie past, which I receiued with thancks that he did me the Honor at last to visitt me, desiering him not to esteeme it pryd, that I insisted on such tearmes with him : that as a priuatt man I would alway be ready to meete him or prevent him in any Curtesye, but in the place and qualetye I now held I could not haue done yt without dishonering and disobeying my Master, whose expresse Chardge was that I should preserue the rights of an Embassador and visitt no subject vntil I had presented my selfe before the great Mogull, except such as, having the Mogulles authoritye, did first show that respect toward his Maiestie and Curtesye toward me that was due. He replyed I [had] done like my selfe in yt, and as a good seruant ought : He did esteeme me the more for obeying my Master and standing for his Honor : and desiered me to excuse the latenes of his visitation : he did not know me: but he was now there to doe me any seruice. Vpon this I gaue him thankes, and, to better satisfye him I was the Person I did pretend, I called for my Commission, and having causd yt to be deliuered with great reuerance, I rose and kyssed yt and showed yt. He tooke yt with much respect, and rising put yt to his head, and veiwing it well deliuered yt back. Then I called for the Mogulles *firma*,[1] and tould them vpon that confidence I was come among them, not doubting of any thing but faire vsage, since therein the Mogull had giuen his royall woord that hee would receiue an Ambassador from the king of England with all due respect, with many other priuiledges granted to the Merchants; and with a Ceremony I deliuered yt him. He rose vp and layd yt on his head and read yt, allowed euery woord; which finished they all rose and

[1] Apparently the supposed confirmation by the Mogul of the agreement made by Best with the local authorities. Cp. p. 47.

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badde me welcome with one voyce. So I putt it vp with my Commission. Then he began to speake of the Portugalls and of the lose they[1] susteyned by the barring vp of their trade, which yet they were content with for our sakes: that he was theyr enemye; and much to this purpose. I replyed in Generall termes, that I did not doubt all these quarrells should be well accòmodated: howeuer, wee would remayne theyre frendes and protectors while our shipping was here: that when hee and I mett in more Priuat manner (which I doubted not this frendship would occasion) I would discourse and open to him some propositions concerning that busines which would giue him Content. He seemd pleasd with this; and Continued to perswade me (as his messenger had done) to hinder any trade with the Cambayan, vrdging the dishonor of the Princes Port, to whom he would write in all things to Countenance our Nation. He sayd hee had Receiued a lettre from the Gouernor of Cambaya, expostulating with him how he durst trade with the English or receiue them, seeing he had made an agreement with the Portugall: aduising him not to suffer vs to land our goodes: that he was a great frend of the Portugall and a dishonest base man: That he had returned answer here was an Ambassador come to the Mogull from the King of England: that hee could not deny him welcome and safety, beeing a qualetye priuiledged euen amongst enemyes: Concerning any Peace with the Portugalls he knew not of any, nor would take any notice but from his owne Master. I replyed he should not doubt any vnconstancy in vs to our ould frendes: if they Continued so, we english knew what did appertayne to kings and Princes, and therfore in honor of his Master wee would be veary wary to doe him any affront, prouided he like a carefull seruant did giue vs no Iust

[1] The people of Surat.

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occasion: For the Gouernor of Cambaya, I knew not his affection but by outward Complement of inviting vs: if he were the Portugalls frend, and they our enemyes, we card for neyther: but if he had made Peace for the Portugall without prejudice of vs, it greeued me not: the Cuntry was lardge enough for both; but if he made Peace to banish vs, we would trade in spite of the Portugall and all his frendes, euen at Goa and Ormus. For the ill language he gaue the Cambayan, I could haue requited him with the like commendations receiued of him; but they are both false alike and attend only present gayne, and are constantly a frend to that only. Soe, urdging me to write a lettre to the Generall (which I did) he tould me it was late, and excused his goeing away, for that night he went toward Swally: at his returne, we should be no longer strangers; and thus tooke his leaue. I offered him the doore, which he accepted, desiering me to goe no farther; and in the same manner at the stayres; but I brought him to my gate, wher we parted.

October 1.—The Gouernor was with the Generall, wher, mutuall Ceremonyes and Curtesies beeing past, the Generall procured him to sine too certaine Conditions concerning the landing of our goodes; the particulars I know not. This day came lettres from the factory at Amadavaz[1] to the General. The Contents I know not, only a Clause or two that concerned mee.

October 2.—The Gouernor returned by day; signifying some discontent that he had no present of the Generall at Swally for the Prince, whose Port the shippes now ryde in.

[1] Probably the letter, dated 26 Sept., to be found in *Addl. MS.* 9366, f. 6. In it Kerridge desired that Roe should be warned that "the articles agreed vpon by Captayne Best were never signed by the Kinge, otherwise then by a generall *firmaen* without knowledge of the particulers, and, those (the Gouernours) that signed them beinge dead, are of small vallidítye". Hence, no doubt, Roe's efforts to induce Zúlfikár Khán to confirm these articles, as at least a temporary security for the trade of the English.

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October 3.—In the morning I sent the Gouernor woord that I would come visitt him at euening: but that beeing yet vnfurnished with horse, I would accept of his offer of halfe a sckore of his. He returned answer they should not fayle to attend me. At euening he sent me woord it was an vnlucky hower for vs both and desired me to deferr till the next day. But faling into speach of presents with the messenger I first sent, I causd it to be tould him he must not expect any from me in that kynd: presents were for sutors: but having knowledge that he had a desire to haue some such strong water as was in a Chest of myne, which hee offered to stay at the Custome house before our frendship, to which I then answered I would rather send my seruants to break them before his face then to giue any in that sort, but receiuing them with Curtesie, I would att any tyme giue him some: therfore I had now a Case for him, if he would accept them as a trifle betweene frendes. He returned me many thanckes and sayd he expected no present at all from me: if I sent him any thing in loue, he would receiue it soe: if nothing, he would not take yt in discurtesye. Vpon this Ciuill answere I sent him a small case of bottles giuen me by the Generall of the Companyes for that vse; and with it a very lardge fayre Mapp of the world (Cost in England as I take yt 3*li.*); which he accepted with all kyndnes, and asked if I had such another for the Great Mogull, making more estimation of yt then off all other Presents.

October 4.—I expected his horses but they came not. This day I sent a letter to Amadavaz, in answere to some Clauses in theyre lettre to the Generall. The copy is registred.[1]

October 5.—The Gouernor receiued a lettre from the King, which meeting it with all respect, this Ceremony and Joy tooke vp the day.

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[1] Not in the MS.

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October 6.—The Gouernor of the Custome house came to visitt me, perswading me to see the Gouernor, that all frendship might followe for our mutuall good. I replyed that it had not beene my faulte: that I had two dayes expected his horses, beeing yet vnfurnished: that I had no sute to him but curtesie, which if he were not as willing to accept as I to offer, I did not meane to thrust yt vpon him. Whervpon he offered me his horses, which I refused, saying if the Gouernor had a mynd to see me, he would furnish me to yt. For this Curtesy I sent him sixe fayre kniues and two quarter mappes, which he accepted gratefully. This day I sent a lettre to Master Edwardes to signifye my purpose of hasting to the Court, desiring his stay there for many resons specifyed. The Coppy is registred.[1]

October 7.—The Gouernor sent in the Morning to offer me horses, which I accepted. At night they came, but not so many as I expected. But beeing loth to occasion any distast, I went with such company as I could, having woord he was at his house attending me. But passing by the Custome house, they calld and tould me he was their, moyling among our Cloth, and desiered me to Come in. I answered I had not so used him: I did expect more Ciuilitye, but I would now take occasion to visitt the feildes; and soe rode toward them. Which he hearing came a back way suddenly into his howse, and sent after me to entreat me to returne: that he was ready to doe me all Honor; which I did. And beeing come into his Court, I was brought into a tent wher were all the Principall of the Towne, but not the Gouernor. They bad me welcome, desiering me to sitt. I asked for the Gouernor. They tould me he had beene busy in the Custome house and was shifting himselfe, desiering me to staye a little: he

[1] At folio 57 of the MS.

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would presently come. I answered : This was an inciuilyetye I vnderstood not: That I mett him at my gate: if I had suspected soe little manners, I would haue spared my labour: but that the King of Englandes Embassador scorned to attend any subiect. Soe I went out toward my horse; which the Gouernor seeing sent to desire me, rather then to take yt in ill part, to Come into the roome wher he was shifting, that I might see it was noe excuse, and one of his men offered to pull me; wherat I layd my hand on my swoord and bad him not touch me: I knewe my way; and soe went to the Gate. The Gouernor seeing yt followed after in hast and ouertooke me vnready, desiring me to pardon him: it was done out of negligence and no ill purpose. So with some replyes on both sides I went in. He offered me to sitt on the Carpettes; but I tould him I could not stoope, wheratt hee sent for two Chayres and soe we sate. He began his ould tune of Curtesye and Complement, to which I replyed alike. But I tould him he was a souldier and did not vnderstand what loss of tyme was to Merchants in such delayes as he dayly gaue: that I had only to propound two things to him, which if he did performe it would giue me some testemony he was our frend: that I desiered not to be his enemie: that I came to offer loue that I might rather make good report of him at the Court then haue Cause to Complayne, which if many reformations were not I should be enforced too. He replyed all my demandes should be effected. I demanded that the 13 Articles signed by the former Gouernor to Captain Best might be signed by him: and that, since he seemed not to know them, I had caused [them] to be reduced into the Persian, which beeing almost in all Poynts broken, I required his confirmation for the future: secondly, that, in his absence out of Towne which was spoken off, order might be left with the kings officers who were of sufficient trust that our busines might goe

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forward, and not abyde the delay of his returne; both which hee promised on the woord of a man of Honor. I tould him souldiers and men of Honor esteemed theyr woord aboue theyr life and desiered he would remember what he sayd. He vowed it should be performed. He desiered me to entreat the Generall to lett him haue 3 fine Cloathes to send to the King, for which hee would pay ready mony. I answered I had not to doe in yt, but I would write in his behalfe, assuring him for mony he might receiue any Content. Then he asked when I would sett forward to the Court, and perswaded me to hasten to preuent the Portugall. I tould him: within ten dayes: that I was a stranger and Could not be suddenly prouided for so great a Iourny. Hee tould me I should haue his assistance. I thanked him, and replyed I did expect no more then what the lawes of Nations cast vpon me, securitye and safe Conduct in his Gouerment. He answered that he was bound vnto, but he would send diuers gentelmen to bring me to the king, who would giue me braue welcome and rich Presents. I thancked him for his offer, and accepted yt: that I doubted not the king would receiue me like the Ambassador of a Mightie Prince, his frend: that the bountyes of kings wear euer to be accepted gratefully: but that I expected no reward: I serued a Master was able to recompence mee. Soe giuing me two Pines, with a long speech of the dayntenes, which I bade a seruante take, telling him I knew the fruict veary well, I took my leaue. He brought me to the tent doore and some of the rest to my horse.

October 8.—The Gouernor sent to desire he might see the Coach and Virginalles for the king. I answered him it was not the Custome to haue kings presents veiwed, yet I was Content to giue him any satisfaction: that he should be welcome.

October 9.—In the Morning he came to my house; and

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when he was in the lower roome I came downe, and setting him and his officers in Chayres I gaue him the 13 articles he promised to subscribe. He refused yt, answering he durst not, I beeing goeing to the king: but when I was there I should haue better Conditions. I pressed him with his woord, with the *firma* of the kinges relating to them and confirming them, with many arguments; but not preuayling, I tould him I could expecte no fayth from him that card so little for any vow: I should be forced to Complayne of him, for which I was sorry, but now hee had them in the Persian and knew them, if he would there giue his fayth they should be executed in forme as they were granted, and that, if any of our factors came to Complayne of the breach of any, he would speedily doe Iustice, I would take it as some Content; which he againe vowed, and many with him, and vpon yt gaue me his hand; which I was forced to accept off, but will not owe him his falsenes. I complayned that poore men could not be suffered to carry a little stuffe aboord for Cloathing our people, to which he promised reformation, and to content me in all thinges I would require. Soe I gaue him some toyes he fancyed; and showed the Virginalles, which he much misliked not. Then he asked for the Coach. I tould him it was in a warehouse: if he pleased he might goe in. Soe he rose and asked me if I would goe with him. I tould him I had seene yt often; which I did because I would not bring him out, hauing learnd the discurtesie of him. When hee saw yt, he scornd yt and sayd it was little and poore: that wee bought ill veluett of the Chinoyes[1] and sent it his Master in Coaches. From thence hee tooke horse. At night he discouered himselfe more playnly, telling the factors his present was little: that the Portugalls in one frigatt gaue more: that they should not

[1] Chinese.

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land any more goodes vntil he had a present from the Generall to Content him: that all other ports had made peace with the Portugall: hee had only receiued vs: that hee had Commandment to dismisse vs and that for my sake, who was an Ambassador, with other good woordes, he suffered them to remayne in the towne: but that resoluedly there should be no trade without a better present. Soe base are our Conditions in this Port and subject to soe many slaueryes, such as noe free hart can endure, that I doe resolue eyther to establish a trade on free Conditions or to doe my best to dissolue yt. For noe profitt can be a good Pennywoorth at soe much dishonor; the person of euery man landing loccked vp and searched like a theefe; sometymes two dayes before leaue can be had for any man to passe the riuer; a poore bottle of wyne sent to the sick deteyned; and euery trifle ransacked and taken away, with unsufferable insolencyes.

October 10.—The Gouernor went to the *Alfandica*;[1] shares our Cloth; takes whatsoeuer he pleaseth, and finally steales one by a base Convayance out of a wyndowe, while a broyle was purposely made to amase all men; yet barrs not trade absolutly, but forbidds cloth and lead to be landed vntill the swoordes, strong waters, and looking glasses and such lighter Comodityes come to his eye, that he may satisfye his rauenous auarice or pouerty. This day arriued Ihon Browne[2] from Amadavaz with the ill Newes

[1] Custom house (Port. *Alfandega*).

[2] John Brown, a factor who had come out in Downton's fleet in 1614, and had been sent up to court with Edwards. Early in 1616 he was placed in charge of the Ahmadábád factory, a post which he held during the whole time of Roe's stay in the country. The ambassador always spoke well of him, describing him as "a very honest fellow, nimble, industrious and honest"; but Brown made an ill return, for after Roe's departure from India he wrote a letter to the Company, so full of invective against the ambassador that it drew upon him the sharp censure of his employers (Court Minutes, 28 Sept. and 1 Oct., 1619). In one of Coryat's letters will be found some facetious verses addressed to him by Brown.

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of Master Aldwoorths death[1] by the way, who had long beene sicke, and now desirous to doe his last seruice, 3 dayes Iourny onward to Suratt performed yt. What other newes he brought of the affayres of the busines I am a stranger too; only wheras ther was doubt made at Amadauaze that, if Master Aldwoorth had died there the Gouernor would make seysure of all goods in his handes

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[1] Thomas Aldworth, the first English agent at Surat, of whom it is scarcely too much to say that he was the real founder of that important factory; for when Captain Best, sick of Mukarrab Khân's evasions and delays, determined to abandon the attempt to establish a trade there, Aldworth positively refused to go aboard. His urgent representations, coupled with the arrival of the Mogul's *farmán*, induced the General to alter his resolution and to leave a few merchants in the city, under the charge of Aldworth. During the twenty-one months that followed, it required all the latter's diplomacy to content "the gouernour and principall rulers, whoe but by his perswations woulde haue againe receiued the Portingalls" (Dodsworth's MS. narrative in I.O. Records); but at last the sails of Downton's fleet rose above the horizon and his weary vigil was at an end. The arrival of the ships, however, brought trouble as well as joy, for on the strength of the Company's commission, given in entire ignorance of the circumstances, it was sought to depose him from his primacy in favour of Edwards, the cape merchant of the new fleet. Aldworth vigorously resisted, and at last a compromise was arrived at by which he retained his post at Surat, while Edwards proceeded to the Court at Ajmere as an envoy from the king. When Keeling's fleet arrived, Aldworth was lying dangerously ill at Ahmadábád, "more like an anothomy then a man"; and fearing that if he died the governor would avail himself of the pretext to seize all the goods of the English, the factors (as narrated in the text) despatched an urgent message to Ajmere for a special *farmán* to protect them. A day before it arrived, however, Aldworth, fearing to remain longer, and anxious to get down to the coast, caused himself to be carried out of the city on the road to Surat; but the hand of death was upon him, and on the following day (4 Oct., 1615) he expired, at the little village of Nariád, in Kaira district (*Addl. MS.* 9366, f. 9). Kerridge, lamenting his death to Brown, who had been Aldworth's companion on the fatal journey, expressed a hope that he had been interred in such a manner that his body might be afterwards transported to Ahmadábád, "that som memorye may be of him to succeeding tymes" (*Ibid.*, f. 10); but the idea was never realised, and till now even the place of his death has remained unknown. The want of a tombstone was probably due in part to the fact that, as mentioned in a letter from the Surat factors, 31 July, 1616 (I.O. Records: Surat Letter-book, p. 62) "the costom hath bine to interr our dead at the Companies Charge, but the tombe or any extraordinaryes are to bee paid out of their owne meanes;" and Aldworth's friends were not wealthy enough to spend money in erecting a monument in a distant land.

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(having lately practised yt vpon an Armenian Merchant, and both enquiring suspitiously after his recouery and Command not to depart the towne without leaue; and further a Plummer dyeing there about the same tyme, the officers came to enquire his estate and beeing tould he was a seruant and a poore man were satisfied, yet with their brokers *Scrito*[1] in testemony) the factors very discreetly despatched away for the Court to procure the Mogulles *firma* in preuention, which was granted and returned with expedition, remayning yet at Amadauaz for securytye of the goodes vnder Master Aldwoorths Chardge, but the Coppy was sent downe by Ihon Browne, which I demanded and I was answered he had sent yt the Generall. Ihon Browne desiring to goe to the shipes could not be suffered. I sent to the Gouernor a message about yt. His lordship was in his *Seralia*.[2]

October 11.—In the Morning leaue was obteyned for him with much adoe. At night arriued one Young,[3] a Youth of Master Aldwoorthes, with his Masters goodes, and a German that had serued him.

October 12.—Came to the Custome house all the Prouisions for presents and other necessaryes for my Journy and residence at Agra; but were not suffered to be landed, to theyr great spoyle. The factors all gone to the Generall to a Councell. I sett downe all my greauances and Complaynts in writing, and all my demandes, with my full resolution in both cases of rȩfusall or Content; and caused them to be translated into the Persian in two Coppies.

October 13.—In the Morning, my prouisions all remayning in the Custome House and the Merchants returned, I sent

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[1] Attestation (Ital. *scritto*, a writing). This word, often anglicised as *screet*, was no doubt brought into use, like many other mercantile terms, by the factors engaged in the Mediterranean trade.

[2] More familiar in the Italian form, *serraglio*.

[3] John Young, afterwards made a factor.

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them with one coppy of them to the Gouernor, keeping the other to showe the Mogull howe fayrely I required Iustice and howe vnwilling I was to be forced to Complayne. The Coppy in English is registred.[1] This frighted him so farr as he asked who could witnesse the accusations theyr layd against him, and so redeliuered presently all the Cloathes in his hand except fiue, for which hee gaue payment by the Custome. For the stolen cloth, it was alsoe acknowledged, and order to Clear all the goodes landed. For my prouisions he would see them at the *Alfandica*, and what was for the king should passe, what for other vses should paye and passe. But he would not come any more into my howse; saying he only was our frend: that we traded by his licence: that he had receiued his Kings Command to dismisse vs. Whereto it was answered: we did trade by virtue of the Kinges *firma* and not by him; if he had receiued warrant to dismise vs, lett him proclayme and puplish yt: they would all depart. Thus it rested.

October 14.—He without my consent searched all thoose chests sent me in the Custome house and tooke whatsoeuer pleased him in a most imperious sort, whipping a seruant of the English almost to death for speaking, and vsing the Merchants like his slaues. Whervpon I sent to them to come away and leaue all to him, protesting I would neuer receiue his leauings, and vnlesse I might haue them sent home entyre and vndiminished in any part, I would depart the towne, though without fitt presents yet full of Iust Complayntes.

To day Came one Chrabchan[2] (that was deputy Gouernor

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[1] The draft (in Roe's own hand) is in the I.O. Records (*O.C.*, No. 298). It enumerates the various abuses, and demands redress, especially the delivery of the articles intended for presents, and the provision of means to transport them to the court.

[2] Kharáb Khán.

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when this Zulphephar-Chan arriued) to visitt me; and after many curtesyes propounded and vnhappy counsells against the Gouernor, offered to giue me 6 horses, woorth 400*li.* and all meanes to furnish me for my Iourny, perswading me to receiue none of my goodes, but to goe vp and Complayne: tould me of Injuryes done to him, and desired I would take his Petition. I knew him not, and, though Iealous of his extreame offers, yet I thancked him: that I could not receiue so great an obligation of a stranger, of whom I had not deserued and to whom I had nothing to recompence in that kind: for his petition, I came betweene Princes and durst not meddle in busines betweene the subjects of another king, nor betweene him and his subjects; and so desired to be excused. He replyed it would be a great grace to him if I would accept his horses; and then offered me one (that I desired to buy but was prised 100*li.*) with much importunitye; saying if I liued to come back from Agra, he could not loose by any curtesye done me: and since I would not vndertake his Petition, that I would suffer a seruant of his to goe in my Company, for he durst not send for feare of the Gouernors tyranny but at such an oportunity. His horse I refused, and for his seruant I said I would not forbidd any man the passage in my trayne, but I would neyther take notice of him nor of his busines. So we departed. This man is truly an enemy of the Gouernors, and the best frend the English haue here.

Master Aldwoorthes roome was broken vp, and his Accounts, bookes, and goodes taken by Inventory and possessed by Master Barkeley.

October 15.—The *Ramdam* finished, ther was held a great feast and Triumphe in Suratt, the Gouernor with all the Principall men, near 1000 braue horse, excersicing to shoote on horse back at a ball on a high Pole. The Iudge of the *Alfandica* came to invite me, offering me his horses both for that day and vp to Agra, telling me it was recom-

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pence enough to lett the Mogull know he had done yt: encouraging me to Complayne with much vehemency. I refused to see sports or to receiue too great a tye. He is a frend to the English and often viseted me. Within an hower the Gouernor sent to invyte me, an oliphant to ride vpon with footemen with flaggs and Pendantes, and some horse and gentellmen to accompany mee. I answered I was no baby to be abused one day, and pleased with a Pageant the next: he had another account to make with me before I could receiue any curtesy. So they departed.

October 16.—My goodes remayning still in his handes, I sent a lettre, which was written the former day but could not be deliuered for the Triumphe, wherin I playnly defied him as an enemy; I repeated all his abuses, and lett him know my purpose to leaue all behynd me and seeke Iustice of the King. The Coppy is registred in English and Persian, as I did all things that Passed betweene vs that I might show the Mogull the fayre course I held to bring him to reason without Complayning. His answere stood most vpon denyalls; offering the kings presents free, but of others he would haue a share and I should pay Custome. So I prepard to be gone without them.

To the Governor of Surat.

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 58.[1])

15 October, 1615.

The Injuryes you haue offered me, Contrary to the fayth giuen by your King, to all Ciuilitye and law of Nations, beeing a free Ambassador, and Contrary to your owne honor and promise, forceth me to send you woord I am resolued not to endure yt. I come hither not to Begg, nor doe nor suffer Injurye. I serue a king that is able to reuenge what soeuer is dared to be done against his subjects. I am come vnder assurance of the Great Mogulles *firma* and letter sent vnto the King of England my

[1] There is another copy of this letter in the India Office Records (*O.C.*, No. 303).

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Master, promising all loue and frendship to him, and therfore I am confident that no man dare presume to wrong mee. Under which Confidence I lett you knowe that, without seeking farther frendship from you, that haue ransacked my Chests, taken by violence the Presents sent your Kyng, Cruelly whipt a seruant of the Merchaunts for doeing his duty, abused with Contempt all the English, notwithstanding they haue both sought in good sort your fauour and haue sundry tymes presented you: and to leaue all in your handes to goe with speede and desire Justice against you, that you may appeare to answere before your King to my face for these wrongs; when I doubt not (so great fame I heare of the Royall disposition of his Majestie) to haue Honorable and speedy redresse. I am sorry for nothing but that euer I vouchsafed to send you any remembrance of mee, of whom in loue you might haue receiued any thing; but by this course of me nor my Nation I am resolued you shall neuer gett one Pice; assuring you I am better resolued to dye vpon an enemye then to flatter him, and for such I giue you notice to take me vntill your master hath done me Justice.

October 17.—I wrote in the Generalls name to the same purpose and sent yt by Captain Harris, who was then with mee. (The Coppy is also registred.[1]) He gaue faire woordes and promised all things should be dispatchd, but nothing was effected; yet desiring Captain Harris to make him and me frendes, repeating to him the refusing of his oliphant and my not Comminge to his howse.

October 18.—I entreated Captain Harris to returne with a Ciuill message to him, which he tooke in good part. At which instant came a lettre from the Prince, which he read thear. The Contents were, that the English should dischardge one ship and haue a Monthes staye, in trade, but no residences in the Towne. Wherat the Gouernor perswaded to land no more goodes, and gaue order to take vp all that was come to the Custome house; desiering that I might hasten to procure a residence here, or otherwise wee must depart. Yet he would doe nothing to farther me; but deliuered some few of the things I desiered, but sealed

[1] Not in the MS.

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and directed to the Mogull. The Chests sent ashoare, wherout I was to Choose such presents as should lye bye to serue all occasions were deteyned. Whervpon, our residence here standing on so fickle tearmes, I resolued to goe vp with more hast and lesse carriadge, with only presents for one or two audiences, in which if I could procure fitt Conditions for our stay and securitye for our farther trade, I would signifye I had left many things behynd by reason of the doubtes cast into me by the Princes lettre: desiring both the *firma* to such articles as I had propounded, and a warrant for the passing vp of all such things as I would send for without the impeachment[1] of the Gouernor. In refusall, I did purpose to returne to our shipes with expedition, having aduertised the Mogull That as he was Lord of his owne land and might doe his pleasure, and had forsaken the amytie of a Prince who had desired yt in fayre and Honorable tearmes, for the Portugalls who made him tributary, to his eternall dishonor, So he would fynd by experience the king my Master would be lord of all these seas and Ports to the prejudice of his subjects, in spight of those in whom he now trusted and should not dare to releeu them. To this purpose I wrote the Generall, with my opinion and resolution at lardge; and sent the Merchants aboord to conferr of these businesses and to deliuer me in writting all their demands and greauances. At Captain Harris parting with the Gouernor, he was veary kynd, sending the Generall a very good present, and giuing him another of good valew.

October 19.—All the Merchants beeing at the fleete, nothing was done at the Custome howse. I receiued advise by a Persian whom I vsed,[2] that the souldiers of Damon & Chaule and the land of the Portugalls were drawn downe to Goa, vnder Coulor of sending a fleete for

[1] Hindrance. [2] *Addl. MS.* 19277 has "asked".

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the releefe of Ormus, from which the Persian had taken all supplyes: That the new Viceroy was arriued with three Carickes.[1] Wheron doubting whether the preparation might be diuulged for Ormus but fall vpon our fleete, I wrote a lettre to the Viceroy signifying our desire of peaceable trade without theyr prejudice, his Majestie resolution to mayntayne his subjects in theyr honest Course of trafique, and offer of Comprisure in the treaty now negotiated with the Mogull and to endeauour to procure an open free trade on all sydes; which I sent in Portugall & English, limitting a tyme for answer. The Coppy is registred.

To the Viceroy of Goa.

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 58.[2])

Most Illustrious Lord,

The Injuries your Excellence or your predecessors haue offered to the subjects of the high and mighty Prince, the King of England, my royall Master, by assalting them in that peacable course of trade, contrarye to the Amytye and leauge of both our Soueraynes, although by the asistance of God you haue receiued shame and Confusion in your vnchristian Attempts, yet I haue commandement to admonish you, like the subject of a Prince at Peace with my Master, to desist from vndertaking that which can bring foorth no other effect but warr and reuenge and shedding of Christian blood. And because it can not bee supposed you haue done thus vnwoorthely without having mistaken the entent of our Comming into these parts, I haue command from his Majestie to signifie to you, as his Majesties Embassador resident at Madrill hath done there, that the English entend nothing but free trade, open by the lawes of Nations to all men, wherof in these terretoryes of the Mogull & other Neighboring Princes there is enough for both, if auarice doe not blynd all reason in your Excellence. It is not the Purpose of the English to roote out or hinder your trade; but to Continew theyr owne in frendship, and wilbe ready as Christians to doe you any curtesye or

[1] This was a mistake. There was no change of Viceroys between 1611 and 1617, when the Conde de Redondo replaced Don Jeronymo de Azevedo.

[2] There is another copy in the I.O. Records (*O.C.*, No. 303), but it presents no variation.

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assist your Excellence or nation in any want. Neither doe they desire, if your Excellence haue any custome, reuenewe, or Gabell[1] from the Merchants subject to the Mogull trading at sea, to take it from you or otherwise impeach your receipt therof. That it is strange that the two Mightie Princes our Masters and theyr Subjects beeing freends and in free commerce one with another, your Excellence should dare to infring yt; wishing your Excellence to remember what the wronges offered by your Nation did cost you, how many Millions, both of Men and Crownes, in the dayes of the blessed and famous Queene Elizabeth, the same force and spiritt still liuing in our Nation; aduising you to giue more reuerent tearmes of the Majestie of a Christian Kyng then your barbarous miscelaneous people haue vsed in these parts. To which purpose hauing now in frendly Manner admonished your Excellence, as befitts the Honor of a Prince tender of his Royall woord, I am to giue you farther Notice that his Majestie is resolued to Maynteyne his subjects in their honest indeauours, in spight of any enemyes; and to that Purpose hath sent me, beeing a gentellman of his Priuy Chamber and a souldiar, his Ambassador to the Greatt Mogull, with full power and Authorytye to conclude a leauge and frendship betweene theyr Majesties and theyr subjects for euer, bynding himselfe by his Royall woord to maynteyne and fullfill whatsoeuer I his Embassador shall conclude with the Great Mogull, to the securytye of theyr subjects. Into which leauge I haue command to offer your Excellence comprisure; letting you knowe I am ready to goe to Adsmere, wher I will attend your answer 40 dayes, and, in case of refusall or silence, which I will vnderstand a refusall, I will proceede to such conclusions as I shall in my Judgment thincke conduceable to the ends for which I am imployed; assuring your Excellence, if you continew in this course, The Kings Majestie will not only giue protection in the way of defence, but grant his lettres of prisall free to all his subjects to make war vpon you in all parts of the Indyes, a thing infinitely desiered and dayly sued for to his Majestie, wherby you shall not be able to looke out at your Ports, much lesse to attempt to Injure vs. But, hoping you will haue more consideration, I require your answere within the tyme prefixed, and so I Committ you to Gods protection.

Your frend or enemye at your owne Choyce,

D. THO. ROE,

Ambassador of the Majestie of England.[2]

Suratt, October 20, 1615, stil. vet.

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[1] Impost (Fr. *gabelle*).

[2] As will be seen later, no reply was made to this letter. The factors at Surat, in a note dated the 3rd May, 1616, informed Roe that the messenger had returned about four days previously; at first (he

October 20.—A lettre Came from the king, but not once named the English, as my entelligence enformed me; but concernd the Injuryes of a Merchant wroonged by the Gouernor.

October 21.—I rode early with Captain Peyton, Master Bonner[1] and others, to the Tancke[2] to take the ayre; and returned on purpose by a greene, wher vsually the Gouernor is at his exercise, to obserue his Countenance, because Captain Harris tould me he desired a frendship. When I came there, he left his play at balle on horsbacke[3] and Came toward me. I stayed his Comming vp. After salutations, and asking of my horses and why I vsed not his, to which I answered I had these at my Command from a good frend Chrabbeckcan,[4] he desired me to see their excersice a-horsebacke, which I accepted off. Whervpon hee sent for his bowes, and with diuers others passed many Carrers[5] shooting backward at a marke on the ground, and after at an Eastreadge[6] eggshell on the top of a May pole.

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reported) he was promised an answer, but after waiting three months, and being refused admittance to the Viceroy, he judged it best to make his way back to Surat. In July, 1616, Richard Cocks wrote to another factor in Japan that, in default of a reply, Roe had "pronounced open warrs against the Portingals in the East Indies with fire and sword in the name of the kings maiestie of England" (I.O. Records.—*O.C.*, No. 377); but this story, though apparently accepted as correct in the preface to the *Calendar of State Papers (E. Indies)*, 1513-1616, is quite baseless.

[1] This was Thomas Bonner, who, on the way out, had been promoted to the post of master of the *Expedition*. He died at Tiku on the 20th July, 1616, and was buried on a small island near that port. Three years later they buried in the same spot, "so neere as could be ghessed", the body of his brother Robert Bonner, the leader of the 1618 fleet. He had died at Tiku on the 9th October, 1619, of wounds received in fighting the Dutch when they attacked and captured, amongst others, his vessel, the *Dragon*, Lancaster's old flag-ship.

[2] See page 112.

[3] The modern "polo", which (under the name of *cháugan*) was the favourite pastime of Akbar.

[4] See p. 71. Apparently Roe had consented to make temporary use of the horses proffered by Kharáb Khán.

[5] This was the technical phrase for running the charge in a tournament or attack.

[6] Ostrich.

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Then hee tooke his Peece[1] and did the like, and after with lances, counterfeyting a Chase and at the full speed of theyr horses, full of varietye, beeing veary Actiue and manly sports; which finished, he desired me to Honor him, to see his house. I was so willing to Close with him for the furtherance of our busines that I was entreated to doe yt, though I knew I should find in my reception nothing to Content me. For after theyr rude manner at his Court gate he alighted and went in in a hurry, soe that I stayed a pretty whyle and entered with the English alone. When I came neare he mett me and led me vp into a howse of pleasure, where wee sate, discoursing of the warr, armes, and Customes of these parts. Then Captain Peyton tould him the Generall had sent him a present in requitall of a former; and soe deliuering the parcells, he tooke two things and with infinite scorne cast the rest away, saying thoose hee tooke as a token but not as a Present, repeating the valew of his. This I mention that you may know theyr custome, at least this man. So I returned to demand my goodes, to repeate the discurtesyes, but I wanted no fayre promises and excuses. Asking when I departed, I replyed: in two dayes; wherat the Merchannts desired leaue to pass vp some Cloth in my Company, which hee flattly refused, turning to me, swearing by his head and beard he had expresse order to the Contrary, and to suffer vs only to vnlade one ship in a month, and after to depart; and except I could dispeed and procure longer time, he must obey it. I answered him roughly that we card not, yet I could not beleeue his Master was so vnconstant. Soe I tooke my leaue; butt at night could get nothing from the Custome howse.

October 22.—Having advised that, seeing now in fiue weekes we hard not one woord of Master Edwardes,

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[1] Gun (cp. fowling-piece).

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woondring that these Changes would be at Court without his pryuitie, and that I could not goe on my Iourny with any expedition, desierous to haue some Newes from aboue and to take my prouisions with me, I resolued to addresse my Complaynt by post to Master Edwardes to deliuer to the Mogull in my Name. The Merchannts acquaynting the Generall speedily therof, who wrote his lettre to Master Edwardes, as I suppose, of Complaynt; and it beeing sent to Suratt, the Merchants dispeeded it away without my knowledge, or once asking me if I would write, which I tooke in veary ill part, hauing receiued many neglects by reason that all obedience and obsequiousnes was giuen him[1] who could pleasur them, and it was published among them I had nothing to doe with them. Yet within one hower I sent a Post after yt, with my instructions to Master Edwardes how to proceed and how far for our present redresse here, and to dispeed yt to the factory, letting him know, since I was arriued, all the wrongs of the Kings subjects concerned me and that I should answer for them and that therfore in my name he ought to proceed, which I doubt not he will effect. The Coppie therof is registred.[2] The Generall sent 4 of the factors for Baroch and Amadauaz[3] by a New way from the shipes, the Gouernor suffering none to passe from Suratt.

October 23.—I sent two Merchants to the Gouernor to demand those things which he deteyned. He answered I might be gone to night if I would, but I should haue nothing, bidding them tend their owne busines: that they had but 15 dayes to staye. At night the Generall writte me woord of the misfortune at Adsmere, which hee receiued from Amadauaz by way of Apologye in the excuse of one Mitford, that had stabbd Master Edwardes at

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1 Keeling. 2 At f. 59 of the MS.

3 To provide a cargo for the ship intended to be sent home.

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a Consultation for some woordes vsed; which the Generall very rightly conceiued a great offence and dispatchd lettres to Adsmere. But I, not knowing the Contents, but weighing the offence to be of a high Nature, dishonorable to his Maiestie, whose Ambassador Edwardes pretended to be, and prejudiciall to the busines now in hand on fickle tearmes, I thought it fitt that to avoyde the scandall some part of Iustice and reparation should beginn where the offence was most scandalous, and therfore wrote to Master Edwardes to cause him to be layd in Irons in his house vntill I came vp;[1] purposing after examination to send him publiquely bound as Prisoner to the fleete, with the true Coppy of the Cause on both parts. For if authoritye haue abused itselfe, though it be free from reuenge by those that are subordinat, yet it must answere to a higher authoritye, or all bandes of Gouerment are dissolued.

October 24.—The Gouernor beeing gone a hunting gaue order for my dispatch, but nothing was effected. The cause of this change was the goeing of some boates to Baroch, beeing afrayd to loose our trade, wherby he betrayd his lyes of Command for our departure.

October 25.—I laded my goodes, thincking the order was sufficient, but ther came some presently from the Custome house and would new search them, which I was angry at & would not suffer. Whervpon they beate one of the wagoners at my dore and would haue Carried the Cheefe to be whiped, but I tooke him into my house and gaue him protection, and bad them be gone; but they offering by force to search my Chests that were laded, I showed them a swoord in a Nother mans hand that stood

[1] The letter is given at f. 60 of the MS. The brawl was found to have been a very slight affair, and no serious notice was taken of it. Mitford went home in the *Globe* in March, 1617; and in May of the following year the Court presented him with one hundred nobles in recognition of his services.

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by, and tould them they abused vs enough at the Custome house: if they presumed yt here, I would recompence yt. Wherat they departed and wrote to the Gouernor that I drew a swoord and beate them; and tooke this occasion not to execute the Gouernors Command for my dispatch. Withall I sent speedely to the Generall, desiering him that one ship might ryde out, as if wee meant to seeke other trade, a thinge which only awed them, and tooke good effect. For the Gouernor returning at Night, I sent him woord howe I was abused by the officers of the Custome house, and he in theyr reports made that I drew a swoord. He sent presently Abram Chan,[1] the Cheefe man in the Towne and our frend, to tell me he had punished them for lying and misdemeanor toward me, and was sorry I did not beate them in earnest: that on the morow Abram Chan should come and dispatch me with his passe and lettre to the Prince and that he would present me with a horse and furniture. I thanked him, desiering expedition and no other present. Abram Chan tould me hee neuer durst visitt me before, nor meddle in my busines, the Gouernor beeing soe vnconstant; but now he had leaue, and gaue me his woord it should be effected. Thus I stood delayed in hope and doubt. Within an Hower came a lettre from the king, which was receiued with great solemnytye. The Contents I could not learne; but by the effect it was in our behalfe and some Checke to the Gouernor. For hee speedily, though it was late, sent for Master Bangham[2] and

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[1] Ibrâhim Khân, who was appointed shortly afterwards Governor of Surat, chiefly, it would seem, because he was favourably disposed towards the English. But, after some experience of him, Roe declared him "good, but soe easy that he does no good; wee are not lesse afflicted with a block then before with a storck" (*O.C.*, No. 558).

[2] Nicholas Bangham, originally a joiner, was left at Surat by the *Hector*, returning to England with Best in 1614. In recognition of his services he was given a hundred pounds, made a factor, and admitted to the freedom of the Company. He was appointed to proceed with Roe to India in the capacity of steward, to control his

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before speech with him made Abram chan deale with him to appease me and all the english, protesting we should haue all good vsage, and gaue leaue to goe and carry our goodes vp or anywher without stopp. He was very sadd, which is a signe that the lettre was some reprehension; for otherwise the Custome is, vpon the receipt of any thing from the king, to drincke and be veary frolicke. As yet we had not one woord from Master Edwardes, havinge beene in the Roads 6 weakes. At night was a proclamation made, giuing leaue for boates to carry ouer the lead and teeth,[1] which had now layne in the sunne a month at the water syde, and were cleft and spoyld; which was next day performed.

October 26.—I expected all day but could not procure any thing; nor any answere nor leaue to loade my Chestes.

October 27.—Abram chan came with a multitude of officers, and brought the Gouernors seale and sealed the kings presents, counted my Chests and gaue a warrant to carry them; and withall brought such things as the Gouernor had left[2] to my house, of which I tooke some; and promised whatsoeuer was in the Gouernors handes should be deliuered the Next day. I answered: I could not accept of these, to haue the other deteyned. He sayd all should be brought, except two basens which the Gouernor had sent the Prince. I replyed they were taken from mee, and I would demand them at Court, and giue as I sawe fitt. He desired me to be Content with soe smalle a matter. The Gouernor sent me a horse to giue mee,

household expenses; but the ambassador, when he heard of this arrangement, remonstrated so strongly with Keeling that the idea was given up. Bangham was made cape merchant at Burhánpur instead, and held that post until the spring of 1618, when he went home in the *Bull*. Roe spoke very favourably of him in a letter to the Company: "though he bee not a bredd merchant, he hath a good head, learns aptly, & is of a judgement not rash nor peremptorye, & is your best linguist."

1 An abbreviation for "elephants' teeth," *i.e.*, ivory.

2 *Addl. MS.* 19277 has "kept."

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entreating to speake well of him to the king. I answered: for his horse, I would not receiue him, but caused the bringer to returne yt: that [if?] I found my selfe yet at last well dealt with, and liberty for the Merchants to transport their goodes freely, I would make such report of him as became a frend: but otherwise I would doe my dutie to my Master and the seruice to my Countrymen for which I was imployed. Abram chan importuned me to accept of the horse. I answered: the Gouernor would take yt as an ingagement to speake well of him, and ingratitude in the Contrary: that I came not to be brybed, neyther would I leaue any tye on mee, that it should not bee free, if any lettre of Complaynt came after mee, to doe my nation right against his Injuryes: and that therfore ther was no other way to deale with me but by vsinge the Merchants well, both in theyr bodyes and goodes. And so, receiuinge many promises, They and theyr horse returned.

October 28.—I laded most of my prouisions, expecting the rest from the Gouernor; but nothing came nor any answere.

October 29.—I sent my Carts before, expecting those things deteyned; but with so small hope that I resolued to goe without them. Within an hower came Abram chan with most of the things taken by the Gouernor, and a warrant for my departure. When I demanded the remaynder he desiered to be excused: that hee[1] knew not when hee tooke them but that they were the Merchannts and offered to paye for them: but hee had sent them to Prince, beeing some 7 or 8 basons, french and other sorts. I answered: I would challendge them at Court, and Complayne of the Violence.

October 30.—Many messages past about leaue for Cloth and swoordes to goe vp with mee, but none Could be

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[1] The Governor.

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obteyned ; so I prepared to be gone. As I was ready, came a lettre or *firmaen* from the Mogull to me, staying, according to the Custome,[1] without the towne to be mett by vs. I sent the Merchants, who brought it to me ; beeing procured by Master Edwardes, with his lettre ; it Conteyned a Command to all Gouernors of Prouinces or townes to attend me with sufficient guard and not to meddle with any thing was myne ; and in all things very fauorable except chardges, which was left vnmentioned. When I had read yt, beeing ready to goe to horse, hearing the Gouernor and all the Towne were assembled in an open space I rode that way, and showed the Gouernor my lettre, wherat he was very blancke, desiring my frendship, and offered me anything I would demand. I answered it was now too late : I only came to lett him see the king had a better estimation of Ambassadors and theyre qualetye then he, that had so ransacked mee : but I did not desire his ruyne: if he would yet giue content to the Merchanntes, I would make the best of soe ill vsage. He bad aske anything. I demanded leaue for twelue Carts to goe vp with goodes at their pleasure ; which hee refused. Then I tould him I saw he would doe nothing of curtesye : It was but losse of a little tyme : I would procure it in dispight of him : desiring to know his reason why contrarye to his woord he kept our people and goodes prisoners. He gaue none, but sayd for my sake fiue Carts should haue leaue. Though I scorned this answere, yet since it was some helpe toward dispatch I seemed Content. He demanded if I were frendes. I sayd vntill I heard New Complaynts, which I expected howerly, I was ; and that I required his *Chop*[2] for the 5 Carts presently, for I would stay for them the Morrow at my tents. He

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[1] See the *Áín-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), i, p. 264.

[2] A seal-impression (Hind. *chháp*), and hence also the document thus authenticated. Among Europeans in eastern ports the word became current in the sense both of a permit or licence, and of a

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promised, and I departed foure *Course*[1] from Suratt to Cumaria,[2] expecting the Merchannts. At my goeing I had no guard from him, hauing before hyred such guard as by councell of all your factors, and such other necessary men as was requisite (hauing fiue sicke men in my trayne and few perfect) to Bramport,[3] where I hope for some ease of my great Chardge. Yet I will proue I haue in no thing taken so many nor so much as the factors thought requisite. At my goeing I was perswaded to giue in the Custome house, because I had all theyr assistance and paynes in these broyles with the Gouernor, and to others that had broked[4] in my affayres, and to the Gouernors vnder seruants as Porters, wayters and *Peons*.[5]

October 31.—I rested in expectation of the Merchanntes and goodes which were to goe vp; but at night I receiued lettres that the Gouernor would not hould his woord except he might haue 30 clothes at his owne rates, wherat I sent him woord I was free of all promise of frendship, it beeing giuen vpon the last condition, which hee had dishonarably falsefyed.

Nouember 1.—I went 11 English mile to a village, lying alway in my tents. Hither Abram chan sent me a bullocke to carry water, fitted with sckinns, a Cammell, with two tents and some hens. I tooke his meate and some sckinns; beeing prouided of all necessaryes I returned the rest, haueing nothing of valew to giue in requitall, which his

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stamp or brand placed upon goods. As Sir Henry Yule has pointed out (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 160), it is from the latter sense that we get the expression "first chop," *i. e.*, of the first quality.

[1] The usual measure of distance in India. Later (p. 105), Roe makes the *kos* two miles, but adds that the *kos* of the interior is longer than that of the coast districts. It is well known that this measure varied much in different localities.

[2] Khumbaria.

[3] Burhânpur: of which see p. 89.

[4] Negotiated.

[5] Messengers (Port. *peão*, a footman).

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men were hardly enforced too. This man showed me both most affection and most honor in all his actions.

Nouember 2.—To Biarat[1] 21 mile. This towne hath a walled castle, beeing [in][2] the border of the kingdome of Guzaratt subject to the Mogull; belonging to Abram Chan, by whose order I had a guard of horse watched about my tent all the night.

Nouember 3.—I entered the kingdome of Pardaffsha,[3] a Gentile lord of the hills, subject to none; and lodged in the feildes at 15 miles end. His Cheefe Cytty[4] is called Mugher. He liues in a Castell in the Mountains.

Nouember 4.—9 Mile. Rocky way, by a village called Narampora.[5]

Nouember 5.—15 Mile. In the feildes [dyning by Dytat].[6]

Nouember 6.—20 Miles to Nunderpar,[7] a Citty of the kingdom of Bramport, subject to the Mogull; having passed a corner of the kingdom of Pardasha. Here I gott first bread since my Comming from Suratt; for though the Cuntry be plentifull, especially of Cattle, by reason

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1 Viara, in the Návsári division of the Baroda State. Ruins of two small forts are still to be seen.

2 Supplied from *Addl. MS.* 19277.

3 Partab Sháh, the ruler of Baglan, a mountainous district of considerable extent, represented to-day by the Baglan and Kalvan sub-divisions of Násik district. Akbar had attempted to reduce it, but had failed; Partab Sháh, however, subsequently acknowledged the overlordship of Jahángír, and the kingdom was finally conquered by Aurangzíb. The chief's headquarters were at Jaitápur, near Mulher Fort (Roe's Mugher). Finch, who travelled this road in 1610 (*Purchas*, i, p. 424), mentions it as "Muliere, where the *mamudees* are coyned."

4 This is the reading of *Addl. MS.* 19277. The version in *Addl. MS.* 6115 is "nie a cheefe cytty;" but this is obviously wrong, as Mulher is more than twenty miles away.

5 Návapur, in the Pimpalner sub-division of Khándesh district.

6 Added from *Addl. MS.* 19277. "Dytat" is apparently Dhaita, on the Surpini River.

7 Nandurbár, an ancient and once wealthy and important town, in the sub-division of the same name.

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of the *Banians*,[1] that will kyll nothing, inhabiting all ouer, yet by the same reason they would sell vs none; and bread they make not, but dow cakes. I mett in one day 10,000 bullocks in one troupe laden with Corne, and most dayes others, but lesse; which showes the pleanty.

Nouember 7.—18 Mile to Nimgall.[2]

Nouember 8.—15 Mile to Sinchelly.[3]

Nouember 9.—15 Mile to Tolnere.[4]

Nouember 10.—18 Mile to Chapre.[5] Here, hauing pitched my tents without the Towne according to my Custome, the kings officers came and tould me that there were 200 theeues in the hills and I could not lye without great danger, perswading me to pitch within the Towne. I answered I was not afrayd: if they Came I would leaue some of them on the ground for them in the Morning, and that now I would not stirr. They replyed they could not answere it to the Mogull if any thing happened vnto me; but if I would stay without, they desired a dischardge in writting that they had warned mee. I tould them I was resolued not to mooue, but if the dainger were soe important I required a better guard to watch with mee; which was granted, and the Gouernor with the other officers came out with 30 horse and 20 shott and watched all Night. In the Morning they brought me to their precinctes, to whom I gaue a small present and reward to the Souldiers.

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[1] The well-known term for Hindu traders, often extended by the early travellers (as here) to all persons professing the Hindu religion.

[2] Nimgul. Finch calls this place Lingull, "a beastly Towne, with theeuish inhabitants and a dirtie castle."

[3] Sindkhera, the headquarters of the Virdel sub-division of Khándesh, about twenty-four miles north of Dhúliá.

[4] Thálner, on the north side of the Taptí, in Shirpur sub-division. Here Roe's party would cross the river.

[5] Chopra, in the sub-division of the same name, an ancient and still populous town.

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Nouember 11.—8 Mile to Arawd.[1] Hence I sent Master Shalebanck[2] to Bramport with the kings *firma*, to *Channa Channa* the Gouernor, to see what comoditye I could procure for my furtherance.

Nouember 12.—18 Mile. *Nouember* 13.—18[3] Mile.

Nouember 14.—15 Mile. I arived at Brampore,[4] being by my Coniecture 223 Mile from Suratt[5] and the Course wholy East, a miserable and Barron Country, the townes and villages all built of Mudd, soe that there is not a house for a man to rest in.[6] This day at Batharport,[7] a village 2 Mile short of Brampore, is the stoore house of Ordinance, I saw diuers of brasse, but generally to shortt and too

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[1] Arávad, in Chopra sub-division, a decayed town with a ruined fort.

[2] Joseph Salbank, of whom see p. 101.

[3] *Addl. MS.* 19277 has "15," but this appears to be an error.

[4] Burhánpur, on the northern bank of the Taptí, in the Nimár district of the Central Provinces. It is now a place of small importance, but was at the time of Roe's visit the seat of the Mogul administration of the Deccan, and the headquarters of the army. Founded about 1400, it was held by the Farúki kings of Khándesh down to the conquest of their kingdom by Akbar at the close of the sixteenth century. During the reigns of that monarch and his successor the city was greatly extended and embellished; and at the height of its prosperity it covered an area of about five square miles and contained several notable buildings. The citadel, called the *Lál Kilá*, or Red Fort, which was probably the scene of Roe's presentation to Prince Parwíz, is still in existence, though much dilapidated. In later years Burhánpur, after being plundered by the Mahrattas (1685), passed successively under the yoke of the Nizám, the Peshwá, and Sindia, by whom it was transferred to the British in 1860. A notable incident in its later history was its capture in 1803 by the army under General Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington).

[5] Roe's estimate is a fairly close one. When Colonel Goddard passed along the same road (in the reverse direction), in the course of his celebrated march across India (1779), his surveyors made the distance from Burhánpur to Surat 237¾ miles (MS. in I.O. Map Room).

[6] The contrast between this picture and a present-day description of the same district is not without its moral. With the exception of a few barren hill-ranges, "the long central plain is, for about 150 miles from Burhánpur to Nandurbár, an unbroken stretch of deep alluvial soil. The east and centre are rich and well tilled. The towns and villages are large and prosperous, surrounded by mango groves and gardens; and, except when baked by the raging winds of the hot season, the fields are green with varied tillage. On both sides of the river cultivation is widespread" (*Bombay Gazetteer : Khandesh*, p. 3).

[7] Bahádarpur, four miles west of Burhánpur.

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wyde bored. Betwen that and Brampore I was mett by the *Cuttwall*,[1] well accompaned and 16 Coullers Carried before them. He brought me to the *Saralya*[2] wher I was apoynted to lodg (where at the gate hee tooke his leaue) beeing a handsome frunt of stone, but when I entered I had 4 Chambers alotted me like Ovens, noe bigger, round at the topp, made of brick in a wall syde. This trubled me, but my Tents were my refuge, and I sent the *Cuttwall* woord I would depart the Towne, scorninge soe meane vsadge. He desiered me to be Content vntill Morning. Here liues Sultan Peruies,[3] the kings seconnd sonne, houlding the State and Customes of his father, And the *Channa Channa*,[4] being the greatest subiect of the Mogull

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[1] The *Kotwal*, or native official who had the general superintendence of the city, especially as regards police functions.

[2] The caravansary (Pers. *karwán-sarai*) or public lodging-house for travellers and their pack-animals. *Sarai* simply means a building, but to the English residents at Constantinople the word became synonymous with the palace of the Sultan; and then a supposed connexion with the Italian *serrato* ("shut-up") gave to its usual Levantine form *serraglio* the meaning of the women's closed apartments (see Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, s.n.). The following description is from a very rare work, entitled *An East-India Collation*, by Christopher Farewell, a factor who went out to India in 1614:—"In this City, as all others throughout both Asia's and Afrique wee were lodged in the *Ceraglio*, a spatious place made of purpose for all Travellers, Natives as else (for they have not the vse of Innes as in Christendome), with commodious Warehouses round about, of one Story, foure Square, in the manner of Galleries; and under them dry walkes and places to feed their Coach-oxen, Camels, Elephants and Horses, but in the middle all open, like our Exchange; It being supposed that every Marchant, Gentleman or Nobleman hath his Tent or Coach to sleepe in; if neyther, they make the best shift they can; and for their provision they bring it with them, or buy it in the Towne."

[3] Parwíz, who, as Roe states, was nominally in command of the army operating against the Deccan princes. He died at Burhánpur on the 28th October, 1626.

[4] Khán-khánán (Khan of Khans), a title usually given to the officer who acted as commander-in-chief. The individual here referred to was Mírzá Abdurrahím, son of Bairám Khán, Akbar's celebrated general. He had been given the title for conquering Gujárát; and later he distinguished himself in several campaigns, especially in the subjugation of Sind. For some time he was a strong partisan of Prince Khurram, though afterwards he deserted him for Parwíz. His death occurred at Delhi in 1627, at the age of seventy-two. Captain

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generall of his Armies, wherof 40,000 horse are with him. The Prince hath the Name and state, but the *Chan* gouerns all.[1]

Nouember 15.—I remoued into a handsome garden and sett vp my Tentts with some of my people, leaueing the rest with my goods at the *Saralia*; where the *Cuttwall* Came to visitt me and excuse my lodging, protesting it was the best in the Towne, which after I found true, The wholle Citty (which is veary great) being all builte of Mudd baser then any Cottage, except the Princes howse, the *Chan Channas*, and some few others.

Nouember 16, 17.—I rested, and sent about my Carriadges, only receiuing twenty dishes of meat, drest after their Country manner, sent me in Covered Platters by the *Cutwall* for a Present.

Nouember 18.—For many Considerations, as well to see the fashiones of the Court as to Content the Prince (who desiered yt, and I was lothe to distast him, because ther was sume purpose of erecting a factory in the towne, and I found by experience swoord blades were well sould in the Armie) I went to visitt the Prince and carried him a Present. I was brought in by the *Cuttwall*. At the outward Courte wear about 100 horsemen Armed, being gentellmen that attend the Princes sitting out to salute him, making a lane of each side. In the Inward Courte he satte, high in a Gallerie that went round, with a Cannipe over him and a Carpett before him, in great but barborous

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Hawkins, while on his way up to Agra in 1609, had an interview with the Khán-khánán at Burhánpur and was given by him "his most kind Letter of favour to the King, which auayled much."

[1] Kerridge, in a letter to Roe from Ahmadábád, 21 Oct., 1615 (Brit. Mus.—*Addl. MS.* 9366, f. 19) warned him that he must visit Prince Parwíz, "whose Cappacitye beinge weake and he geven to womanish pleasures, ther is no hope either of honnour or Content from him. . . . He supplieth the place in name only . . . . the *Chan Chan* in matters of Consequence ther ordereth all, esteemed for nobillitye, honnour and valor to be the Cheifest of the land."

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state. Comming toward him thorowgh a lane of People, an Officer came and brought me woord I must touch the ground with my head, and my hatt off. I answered: I came in honnor to see the Prince and was free from the Custome of seruants. Soe I passed on, till I came to a place rayled in, Right vnder him, with an assent of 3 steepes, wher I made him reverance, and he bowed his bodye; and soe went within yt, wher stood round by the side all the great men of the Towne with their handes before them like slaues. The place was Covered overhead with a Rich Cannapie, and vnderneath all Carpetts. To discribe it rightly it was like a great stage, and the Prince satt aboue as the Mock kings doth thear. When I was entered I knewe not where to be placed, but went right and stood before him, wher there is an assent of thre steepes, vpon which standes his secretary to deliuer what is sayd or giuen. Breifly I tould him being an Ambassador from the King of England to his father and Passing bye, I could not but in honor visitt him. Hee replied I was veary wellcome, and Asked me many questions of the King, to which I replied as I thought fitt. But standing in that manner belowe, I demanded lycence to Come vp and stand by him. Hee answered: if the King of Persia, or the great Turke wher ther, it might not be admitted. I replyed that I must be excused, for I doubted not he would come downe and meete them at his gate, but I desiered noe more priuiledg then the Ambassadors off such Princes had, to whom I held myself equale. He protested I had that, and should in all things. Then I demanded a Chaier, but I was answered noe man euer satt in that place; but I was desiered as a Curtesye to ease myselfe against a Pillor covered aboue with siluer, that held vp his Cannapie. Then I moved him for his fauour for an English factory to be resident in the Towne, which he willingly granted and

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gaue present order to the *Buxy*[1] to drawe a *firma*, both for their Comming vp and for their residence. I alsoe desiered his authoritye for Carriadges for the Kings Presents, which he gaue in Chardge to the *Cuttwall.* Then I gaue him my presents, which hee tooke in good part; and after some other Questions, he said: to giue me Content, although I might not Come vp wher hee satt, hee would goe into another Place, wher I should Come vnto him. But one of my presents was a Case of bottles, which tooke him vp by the way; and after I had stayed a while I hard hee was drunck,[2] and one of his officers came to me in his name with an excuse, desiering me to goe home and to take some other tyme to returne to visitt him. This night I tooke my feevor.

Nouember 19.—I sent to the *Chan Channa* a smale Present, but would not visitt him (expecting it from him) nor vtterly disrespect him in regard of our factory. He receiued it with great Curtesie and promised all frendship to the English. This night Master Boughton[3] sickened.

Nouember 20-24.—Being veary sick, I intended nothing but to gett the *firma* promised and Carriadges to be gone from thence, wher in the one the *Buxy*, and in the other the *Cutwall*, did most manifestly abuse me, and I could find noe reamedye. In this tyme the Prince, taking knowledg of my sicknes, sent one day his swoord bearer and another day his Chamberline to visitt me, to whom I Complayned, and had promises to noe effect.

TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 60.)

Brampore, 24 November, 1615.

What hath passed in my journy by sea to Suratt, wher by Godes mercy I arriued the 20th of September with your whole

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[1] Paymaster (Hind. *bakhshi*), generally a military paymaster.

[2] Parwíz's addiction to liquor (the hereditary vice of the Mogul imperial family) is well known.

[3] See p. 32, *n.*

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fleete in safety and extraordinary health, I hope you expect no more from me then I could collect by Circumstances and the outward face of what was resolued in Councell, to all which I was a stranger, no man euer acquaynting me with any proposition or conclusion. For outward things, our course, my opinion, and such like, I refer you to a journall[1] sent herewith, which I pray accept in good part; and though it be long, and I, as you suppose, a young marriner, yet you shall fynd some Cautions very necessary for you. . . . .

What Course I tooke at my landing the journall will relate, and how euery day was spent at Suratt; in this lettre you may expect nothing but my poore councell and judgment of this trade, and the managing therof; wherin it seemes to me you neuer haue had any true enformation. First, for liberty of your people, I found them all in absolute seruitude, so as no priuat man, much lesse a nation, could endure. And though, when ther was no busines (as at our Comming) it seemd not so tyrannous, and that the former Gouernors were somewhat better, yet I haue enformed myselfe off all and it was euer seruile and base, since Captain Best had a ship vnder his Lee. And take this generall rule: It is the Custome to Change the Gouernors here euery yeare, and some tyme the rule of the Prouince (as now it belongs to the Prince); that new humors must be dayly fedd; and presents are here expected as due as the Kings customes, and not such as you will send but as they will choose. Besides, vnlesse the peace may be made with the Portugall (which I haue endeauored), the Roade is vnsafe at Swally, and you must alway maynteyne a fleete four monthes for the safety of one ship. By water in boates ther is no possibility to transport your goodes, the riuer beeing vnder Command of the frigatts;[2] and to carry them 12 mile by land[3] is an infinite Chardge, trouble and decay of many things. Soe that, to Conclud, if a better could be procurd, Suratt is no residence for your factory; or, if it must be, you must send a Pinnace of 80 tunns with 12 Peices, that may goe over the barr of Suratt and Carry your owne goodes to the Key, safe from frigatts and other dangers. Your goodes, when it is Come in Cartes, lyes ten or twelue dayes at the water side before leaue cann be obtayned for boates to transport them. I entend for better securitye to motion the giuing you an ould towne called Maladafar[4] into which your

[1] See the Introduction.

[2] *I.e.*, the Portuguese frigates. The term was at this time applied to shallow, undecked boats, carrying one gun in the bows. They were very useful in the shoal waters of that coast.

[3] From the beach at Swally to the city of Surat.

[4] Mhowa, near Gopnath Point, on the Káthiáwár coast, opposite to Swally. Best had spent a few days there with his fleet in December, 1612 (*Lancaster's Voyages*, p. 239).

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ships may come with six fadome water and anchor vnder the forte, yea, they may harbor at all tymes in a storme and ride without the woormes as smooth as in Theames. . . .

A truce, rather then a Peace, with the Mogull is newly procured by the Portugall payeing three *leeks*[1] of *Rupias* for the ship taken, and licence to goe to the Red Sea signed. This newes I mett on the way; a Moore comming from Court with 300 followers sent to Meca, going to Suratt to take shipping, where three shippes haue order to make ready this yeare without theyr ancient tribute to the Portugall. He had store of Indico with him. I demanded what Conditions concerning the english this peace did Conteyne. An Armenian Christian merchaunt tould me the Mogull had answered he could not put out the english, beeing powerfull at sea, but he lefte it to the Portugalls to doe what they pleased and to endure likewise theyr fortune.[2] So

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[1] "A *leecke* [lac] is 100,000 rupees; a rupee is 2*s.* 3*d.* starling" (marginal note by Roe).

[2] On the 7th June, 1615 (N.S.) by the mediation of the Jesuit Xavier, Mukarrab Khán and Gonçalo Pinto da Fonseca had signed a preliminary treaty of peace, which it was agreed should be submitted to the Great Mogul and the Viceroy respectively for ratification within fifty days. Amongst other things, it provided that the English should be expelled from Surat, and in future they, as well as the Dutch, should be excluded from the territories of the Mogul; if the fleet from England should arrive and refuse to leave, the Portuguese were to be permitted to land guns for the purpose of driving them out of the pool of Swally; the Portuguese effects which had been confiscated were to be restored, after deducting 70,000 *xerafins* as compensation for the merchandise seized by the Portuguese, and the latter were to present a ship to the Queen-Mother in lieu of the one they had burnt at Gogo; further, the Viceroy was for two years to grant free passes for two ships to go from Surat to the Red Sea, in addition to the ordinary yearly grant for one vessel (Bocarro's *Decada XIII*, c. 88; Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa* (Stevens' trans.), iii, c. 6; Biker's *Tratados*, i, p. 189).

The particulars given by the Portuguese historians are so vague that an impression has been created that the treaty was actually completed; but this was not the case. Although the Portuguese Viceroy signified his approval, the Mogul, as stated above, refused to ratify it. This is clearly shown by Kerridge's letters from Ahmadábád now in the British Museum (*Addl. MS.* 9366). Writing on the 26th July, 1615, he speaks scornfully of "Macrobchans Maye Games in Cambaya, settinge a portingall on an Ellephant and in a manner publishinge a peace with them vpon Incertayne and base Conditions (therby to blinde the Kinge);" on the 17th August he repeats intelligence received from Edwards at Ajmere, of "Macrobchans Cominge to the Courte and acquainting the Kinge with the peace Concluded, which Consulted vpon was greatly disliked both by the Kinge and nobillity, wherof the Jesuistes hauinge intelligence, they petitioned for the Kings answere, who sayde that when the viceroy had made restitution for all the goodes taken from his subiects he then would hearken to Con-

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that the warr is left open for both at sea, and wee must woorke and stand vpon our owne safety. The Portugall mannaginge this peace bought presently as much Indico as laded 180 bullocks and are now comming downe with yt. . . .

. . . . All your goodes come by land long journyes at your chardg, both for Carts, *Peons*, Guardes and such trach; wheras I suppose some residence may be had vpon some riuer that may ease most of yt . . According to such relations as I haue gotten, the River of Syndu[1] were most comodious of all others, to which from Lahor any thing may passe by water; besides, the Cuntry is more healthy and plentiffull in Indico and Comodytyes fitt for England then these parts, the Portugall having great ladings yearly from thence. Further, if you may procure the Port Jasques in Persia, the places are neighboring and a Countenance one to a nother; or, if not, yet many Comodytyes of Persia will there be found, by reason the riuer comes from far within land, navigable with boates, and is truely the mouth of the famous Indus, and not that discribed by Cosmographers faling into the Baye of Cambaya. And since I am fallen vpon Persia, breefly ther is no such place for the benefitt of our Nation to settle a trade for venting cloth and buying silke, and for good justice toward all men. And if no greate quantety at first (beeing the south parts) will away, wherby you may returne from thence one ship: yet it may be taken in the way, and what you vent may be sould for silkes (which are very vendible here) or ready mony, wherby these parts may be furnished and the exportation of monyes saued from England. Somewhat hath beene done in this, but to no great purpose, because all the hopes giuen were before the returne of Sir Robert Sheirly. Since two Merchants haue beene dispatched to Court.[2] . . . . I purpose to send to Hispan[3] with all expedition, as well to enforme my selfe off all possibilitye as to procure your securytye and welcome to Cape

ditions of peace and that otherwise ther Could be no Conclusion;" on the 24th of the following month he received a further message that the composition "is farther of nowe then ever, for that it is resolved that the vicereye of Goa Cann make no peace with this people, the English remayning in the Country, except by Espetiall order from the Kinge of Spaine, and that of our expultion he hath no feare;" and later still (25th October) Kerridge says that Edwards has written that "the expected peace with the Portingalls is confidently broken of." These extracts, together with what is stated above, show that the proposed treaty was never formally concluded, and that in lieu thereof the Portuguese had to be content with a simple cessation of hostilities. It is probable that, in the later stages of the negotiation, the news of the arrival of an English ambassador with a fresh batch of presents had no small share in deterring the Mogul from agreeing to expel his compatriots.

[1] The "Rio de Diul Sinde" of Linschoten and Mercator had not hitherto been identified with the Indus.

[2] See the Introduction.

[3] Ispahan.

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Jasques, if you please to accept yt; and after, if I may receiue a Commission from his Majestie, by your procurement, to treat farthar with him, or to goe to his Court and meete your shipping at Cape Jasques, I doubt not to settle you such a meanes for vent of Cloth as you shall well esteeme of yt.

Ther passeth yearly Carauans from Agra to Cambalu,[1] which stands in a could part and may also vent much cloth for mony, the Cuntrye beeing exceeding rich and the Court near the Sea, vpon a nauigable river; and seeing you send to Japan, it is not many dayes wyde of it. I entend to procure the Mogull to write in our behalfe and to know if he wilbe pleased to giue you leaue to send a shipes lading of Cloth yearly vnto him . . . .[2]

The Presentes you haue this yeare sent are extreamly despised by those who haue seene them;[3] the lyning of the Coach and Couer of the Virginalls scorned, beeing veluett of these parts and faded to a base Tawny; the Kniues little and meane, soe that I am enforced to new furnish the Case of my owne store; . . . . the burning glasses and prospectiues[4] such as no man hath face to offer to giue, much less to sell, such as I can buy for sixe peence a peice; your Pictures not all woorth one Penny, and finally such error in the chooyce of all things, as I thincke no man euer heard of the Place that was of Councell. Here are nothing esteemed but of the best sorts: good Cloth and fine, and rich Pictures, they comming out of Italy ouerland and from Ormus; soe that they laugh at vs for such as wee bring. And doubtlesse they vnderstand them as well as wee; and what they want in knowledge they are enformed by the Jesuites and others, that in Emulation of vs prouide them of the best at any rates.

. . . . I can say little of the estate of your busines; only it is kept in the brest of some few men, and your jelousy to giue mee any authorytye of your busines or factors hath disabled me to looke into many things that should haue redounded to your profitt. I know not what suspect you had that I would eyther abuse them or your stocke; but you were deceiued to my great ease and your owne disaduantage, It beeing so diuuldged here (as I thincke, by your expresse command, or for some other vayne end) that I haue nothing to doe with the merchants nor their busines, nor that they neede make mee no account of any thing; wherby if I but fynd just fault or giue honest councell, the meanest can say it concerns not mee, I haue not to doe with

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[1] Cambalu ("seat of Cathaian Can") was of course Peking.

[2] Roe soon found this idea of commerce with China impracticable. In a letter to Smythe, dated the 15th February, 1615-16, he wrote: "For Tartaria or Cambalew, I hau spoken with a Turke who assures mee they haue no trade but for Rhubarb, and the sea is not discouerable over land" (see also the letter to Lord Carew, p. 113).

[3] Cp. p. 67.

[4] Telescopes.

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them. . . . If the Generall keepe not good eyes (which I doubt not, he beeing euery way a very able man) you shalbe sufficiently abused in priuat trade; for this I know, that many of the meanest, and vnder the degrees of factors, brought ashore 100*li.*, 80*li.*, and few vnder 50*li.*, which went liberally for Callicoes. . . .

. . . . You may thincke that I haue broken your order in desiring the Generall to pay me 200*li.* beforehand, on my second yeares wages now currant; because he frugally for you made curious of yt, and yet curteously, when he saw reason, did yt it for mee. I desire to make this apologie for him: I did not thincke you held it reasonable I should land and goe a great journy without one penny in my purse for my priuatt vse; for you all knew I carried none; that you gaue mee and lent mee, I protest I disbursed, with additions of myne owne, for my preperation;[1] and I never ment to make vse of any of that allowed for my chardge for my particular, but to receiue yt and expend yt and giue an account of yt apart to a penny. . . .

Besides, I haue required that my seruants halfe yeares wages behynd may be payed here the first yeare, for els they must goe naked, and I am not able to supply all wants. What is 50*li.* for 15 Men—about 3*li.* apeice, a poore allowance for such as must attend mee; and it is not 50*li.* more then you giue me that dischardges theyr wages;[2] so far I am from gayne. . . .

. . . . For my extraordinarye expence of goeing to Court and dyett, I haue vndertaken the Carriadge of the Presents and your seruants sent with them (wherof the Coach is extreame Cumbersome) and receiued 1,000 royalls of 8 . . . . wherof you shall receiue by my first from Adgmere a just accompt . . . . I landed at Suratt, where I was esteemed an Imposture like my Predecessors (for the Jesuits diue deepe into your secrettes and blaze them); two before having taken the title of ambassador, Master Hawkins and Master Edwards,[3] but so that they haue almost made yt ridiculous to Come vnder that qualetye. . . .

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[1] The journal contains (f. 280) an account by which it appears that Roe spent more than 450*l.* on his outfit. At Surat he provided himself with twelve suits at a cost of from 3*l.* to 42*l.* each; and subsequent entries on this account, totalling over 100*l.* down to October, 1617, show that he spared no expense to maintain the dignity of his post. In a later letter he complains of the great cost of his clothes; "euerything I can weare," he says, "is dearer then at the *Beare* in Cheapeside."

[2] "Seruants wages paid in the Countrie more then the Companyes allowance—112*l.* 10*s.*" (*MS.*, f. 280).

[3] "I heare Master Edwards disavowes it" (marginal note by Roe). Edwards had been specially cautioned by the Company not to assume the title, and had consequently resolved to describe himself merely as a messenger from the English King (see *Letters received by the East India Co.*, vol. ii, *Introduction*). On the other hand, Kerridge (letter to Roe, October 10, 1615, *Addl. MS.* 9366, f. 12) distinctly

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Only I lett you for conclusion know the estate of the Portugall in all these parts. . . . He is on veary ill tearmes and with a little helpe would be vtterly broken heare. But his Majestie must be dealt with. It is good pollycye of state to sett foote on him now he is falling, and if I had authoritye to treate roundly with the Persian and to engage any helpe to the Mogull by sea, I could dissolue him quite in these parts. Or if this may not be convenient to enterprice, yet if you will giue him one good blow, which you haue power and reason to doe: whensoeuer you will send sixe good shipes togither for this Place, vnder colour of safe conduct of those to returne hence, and so to take theyr Course for the Sowthward, they may ride in the roade and enforme themselues dayly of the Comminge in of the Gallions for Goa, which ariue alsoe in September, and lade in December for lisbone (the *Peons* of Suratt may and will goe to Goa for 30*s*. and bringe weekly aduise when they beginn to lade, for they halfe lade within the barr, vnder the fort, and then come out to take in the rest, where they ryde vnfitted for any defence, halfe their men ashoare with frigatts to fill them), and then four of your shipes may way and bee with them in so many dayes, and take what they please, almost without shooting a shootte, lade themselues and fire them; and one prosperous assault vpon them would more disharten them, bring them to better termes (when they sawe your resolution to prosequute them), giue you more reputation and good booty, then twenty repulses euer in your owne defence. It is a rule in warr: the offensiue is both the nobler and the safer part. They make this vse of your sparing them: that their King dares doe any affront to you, because the King of England is a tributarye; but that you dare not Attempt them, but only defend your goods, least the King of Portugal should punish his Majestie for such bouldnes at home.

It is thought requisite that you seeke trade in the Terretoryes of the Mogull in Bengale. I will enforme myselfe of the fittest port and procure a *firma* for residence of your factors.

Since my arriuall at Bramport, beeing the 14 of Nouember 1615, I visited the Prince, which I rather did because ther was a purpose to settle a factory ther. . . . I am heer visited by Godes hand with a terrible feauer, now sixe dayes, and brought veary weake; abused in my Carriadges, notwithstanding the Prince gaue order for me, and the Kings *firma*. The *Cuttwall* tooke my mony and made price as he pleased; and when I sawe his abuse, I sought abroad, but none would stirr without his leaue. So that I must suffer it, as I doe manyfould and

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asserted that "Master Edwards in his Landinge for the Reputation of our buisines assumed the title and qualletye [of ambassador] and in that nature was presented vnto the Kinge and so hath continewed."

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infinite abuses, this beeing a generall Character: euery man will promise any thing, but to this hower I neuer found one man that euer held his woord in any one thing without beeing followed and sued too sixe dayes togither—no answere but "to-morowe." . . . The Cuntrye is all slauish. In this towne of Bramport, the ancient and Cheefe Cytty, except the Castle and some fewe ill howses of Commanders, your swyne lye better than any man; and what I endure I best knowe. . . .

Nouember 25.—Master Boughton dyed and I buried him by leaue early the Next Morning.

Nouember 26.—Being enforced to take the *Cutwalls* price, I laded.

Nouember 27.—In much weaknes, beeing Carried in a *Pallankie*,[1] I Parted Brampore, and lodged that night at Raypora,[2] 3 *Course* off.

Nouember 28.—15 *Course* to Burgome.[3] This day I lost my Carriadges, and all my Company. Beeing very sicke I hastened away in my *Palenkie* to Burgome, but they not beeing able to Follow, we were afrayd one of another. I was without tent or prouision, and gott into a little open house,[4] and soe rested in my *Palenkie*. I sent away a *Peon*, who before Morning returned with Newes of one another.

Nouember 29.—My Carriadges and Company Came to me; and I rested this day, beeing soe sick as at night I was past sence and giuen ouer for dead; but God raysed mee.

Nouember 30.—In the Morning came a *firman* from Sultan Peruies for our entended factory at Brampore, which I dispeeded backe to Surat. At Noone I remooued 7 *Course*.

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[1] Hind. *pálkí*, a litter. The form in which Roe uses the word is nearer the original than the more usual "palankin," which bears traces of its derivation through the Portuguese.

[2] Ráipur, a small village north-west of Burhánpur.

[3] Borgaon, in the Nimár district of the Central Provinces, 21 miles N.E. of Burhánpur.

[4] A *choultry*, or resting-place for travellers.

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December 1.—10 *Course* to Bicangome.[1]

December 2.—7 *Course.*

December 3.—5 *Course.*

December 4.—To Ecbarpur,[2] 11 *Course.* It standes on a goodly riuer, falling into the sea nere Baroch, and is doubtles nauigable.

December 5.—Spent in passing the riuer called Narbodah, being forced to vnlade.

December 6.—8 *Course*; lodging in a wood, not farr from the Kings famous Castle of Mandoa,[3] which standes on a steepe hill, walled round in circuit 14 *Course.* The Castle is faire and of woonderfull greatnes.

December 7.—10 *Course.*

December 8.—8 *Course.*

December 9.—10 *Course.*

December 10.—12 *Course.*

December 11.—16 *Course.*

December 12.—14 *Course.*

December 13.—6 *Course.*

December 14.—I rested to drye my tents and ease my selfe and Company.

December 15.—6 *Course.*

December 16.—6 *Course.*

December 17.—12 *Course.* Hence I sent Master Shalbancke[4] to Adsmere to prepare for mee.

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[1] Bikangaon, in the district of the same name in Holkar's territory.

[2] Akbarpur, where there is a ford over the Narbadá, a few miles S. of Mandú.

[3] Mandú, described later.

[4] Joseph Salbank, the oldest servant the Company had in India—"the almond tre," he wrote to them, "hath displaied his white blossoms vpon my head ever since I was admitted into your service." Roe describes him as "a very playne ould man, hardy to trauell and thrifty, & for hauing beene often in the Country fitt to receiue some pension at home rather then wages abroad." He was one of the original subscribers upon the establishment of the Company, and first went to India in the disastrous Fourth Voyage. With others of the crew of the shipwrecked *Ascension*, he made his way to Agra, whence he started home overland in company with Covert. At Bagdad they heard that Sir Henry Middleton was in the Red Sea, whereupon

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December 18.—5 *Course* to Cytor,[1] an ancient cytty, ruined, on a hill, but so that it appeares a toombe of woonderfull magnificence. Ther standes aboue 100 Churches all of Carued stone, many fayre towers and lanthornes Cutt thorough, many Pillars and innumerable houses; but no one inhabitant. Ther is but one ascent to the hill, it beeing precipitious, sloping vp, Cutt out of the Rocke, having 4 gates in the ascent, before one arriue at the Citty gate, which is Magnificent. The hill is in compasse at the top about 8 *Course*, and at the S.W. end a goodly ould Castle. I lodged by a poore village at the foote of the hill. This Citty standes in the Country of one Ranna,[2] a Prince newly subdued by this King or rather bought to Confesse tribute. The Citty was woone by Ecbar-sha, father to this Mogull. Ranna is rightly descended from Porus, that valient Indian ouercome by Alexander, soe that I take this Citty to haue been one of the ancient seates of Porus; though Dely, much farther N., bee reported to haue beene the Cheefest, famooues now only in ruynes.[3] Neere that standes a pillar

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Salbank set out to join him. On the road, however, he learned that Middleton was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks, and consequently determined to make for Socotra in the hope of finding some English shipping there; but he fell into the hands of the Portuguese, who carried him by way of Muscat and Ormus to Goa, and so to Lisbon, whence he returned to England. In 1613 he went out as cape merchant in the *Expedition* (Twelfth Voyage); and he had now come to India for the third time in the fleet which brought out Roe. He was chiefly employed at Agra, where (as will be seen later) he ran considerable risks from the plague epidemic. In 1618 he was employed as chief merchant in the voyage to the Red Sea, and was again sent thither in the following year. He died some time before the end of 1624, for by January, 1625, his widow had married again.

[1] Chitor, the ancient capital of Mewár, 270 miles S.W. of Agra and 30 miles N.W. of Nímach. After its capture by Akbar in 1568, its temples and palaces were dismantled and all symbols of regality taken away. Udi Sing, the Mewar Ráná, retreated to Udaipur, and founded there a new capital.

[2] Umra Sing, Udi Sing's grandson. He had been reduced to submission in 1613-14 by an army under Prince Khurram and Mahábat Khán. Hawkins mentions him under the title of *Raga Rahana* (*The Hawkins' Voyages*, p. 434).

[3] This refers, of course, to Firozábád (Old Delhi).

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erected by Alexander the Conqueror, with a gricke[1] inscription.[2] The Present Mogull and his Ancestors, descendants of Tamberlan, haue brought all the Ancient Cyttyes to ruine, having dispeopled them and forbidden reparation. I know not out of what reason, vnlesse they would haue nothing remembered of greatness beyond theyr beginnings, as if theyr famely and the world were Coeualls.

December 19.—12 *Course.*

December 20.—10 *Course.*

December 21.—10 *Course.*

December 22.—9 *Course.* At noone Master Edwardes the Agent mett me, accompanied with the famous vnwearied walker Tho. Coryatt (who on foote had passed most of Europe and Asya, and was Now arriued in India, beeing but the beginning of his purposed trauells)[3]

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1 "Great" in *Purchas.*

2 This statement may confidently be traced to Coryat. Terry (p. 81) repeats the story that Delhi was the seat of King Porus, who was defeated in the neighbourhood by Alexander, and adds : "I was told by Tom Coryate (who took special notice of this place) that he, being in the city of Dellee, observed a very great Pillar of Marble with a Greek inscription upon it, which time hath almost quite worn out, erected (as he supposed) there and then by Great Alexander to preserve the memory of that famous victory." Purchas, too (i, p. 592) gives a letter of Coryat's in which the same statement is made, except that the pillar is said to be of brass.

The reference is apparently to one or other of the famous Asoka monoliths of Delhi. One of these, called the Golden Lát, stands amid the ruins of Firozábád, immediately to the south of the modern city, having been removed from its original site at Khizrábád by Firoz Sháh in the middle of the fourteenth century. The other, brought by the same monarch from Meerut, was placed by him in the courtyard of a ***kushak shikár*** (hunting-house) which he built on the well-known ridge to the west of the city. Both formed part of the long series of pillars erected by King Asoka from Kábul to Orissa, and bear his famous Edicts, though to the Firozábád pillar was added, in the twelfth century, a further inscription in honour of Visala Deva (see *Delhi Gazetteer*, p. 202, and Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, i, p. 324).

Finch, an English factor who was in India some years before Coryat, mentions the second of these two monuments, and also a third Asoka pillar at Allahábád (*Purchas*, i, p. 437).

3 Coryat, the "Odcombian leg-stretcher," will need no introduction to the reader. He appears to have arrived in Ajmere in June,

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and some other Christians residents in Adsmere. I lodged in the feilds, Master Edwardes having sett vp his tents and prouided for mee.

1615, having made his way on foot from Aleppo to Agra, and thence to the Court. Wearing the costume and speaking the tongue of the natives, he had performed his ten months' journey at a cost of only fifty shillings. Chronicling Roe's arrival in India, he speaks of him as his "deare friend;" but the ambassador, who was keenly sensitive to anything likely to lower English prestige, seems to have been little pleased to renew their acquaintance in such circumstances. He wrote, however, good-humouredly enough, to Lord Pembroke (14th February, 1615-16), of "Thom Coryat .... whom the fates haue sent hither to ease mee, and now liues in my house. He came heither afoot, hath past by Constantanople, Jerusalem, Bethlem, Damascus, and breefely thorowgh all the Turkes territory, seene euery Post and Pillar, obserued euery Tombe, visited the monuments of Troy, Persia, and this kings dominion, all afoote, with most vnwearied leggs, and is now for Samarcand in Tartarya to kisse Tamberlans Tombe, from thence to Susa, and to Prester Jhon in Ethiopia, wher he will see the Hill Amara, all afoote, and so foote it to Odcombe. His notes are already to great for Portage, some left at Aleppo, some at Hispan—enough to make any stationer an alderman that shall but serue the Printer with Paper. And his exercise here or recreation is making or reapeating orations, Principally of my lady Hartford." Peyton, in his Journal, records that Coryat welcomed Roe to Ajmere in "a long, eloquent oration."

In September, 1616, when the English factory was about to be broken up, upon the intended departure of the Mogul, Coryat left for Agra. He had first, to Roe's annoyance, taken opportunity to address an oration (in Persian) to the Mogul, who threw him a hundred rupees. Reproved by the ambassador for this action, as tending "to the dishonour of our Nation, that one of our Countrey should present himselfe in that beggerly and poore fashion to the King, out of an insinuating humour, to craue money of him," Coryat answered (according to his own account) "in that stout and resolute manner ... that he was contented to cease nibling at me."

At a later date he rejoined the ambassador at Mandú, but in so weak a state of health that one day he fainted in Roe's presence, and was with difficulty brought to his senses. Refusing an invitation to remain awhile and rest, he set out for Surat, and managed to reach the English factory there in safety, though very ill with dysentery. But the hospitality of the factors, who plied him with sack, was too much for his enfeebled frame, and (says Terry) "he overtook Death in the Month of December, 1617, and was buried under a little Monument like one of those are usually made in our Churchyards."

Terry, who was for some time "either his Chamber-fellow or tent-mate," records several of Coryat's sayings and doings. On one occasion he undertook the task of silencing a brawling laundress, and by eight of the morning he had so out-talked her in her own language that "she had not one word more to speak." A more startling incident occurred one day at the time of evening prayer, when he mounted a high place and answered the *mu'ezzin* by a proclamation

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December 23.—I arriued at Adsmere[1] (10 *Course*), comming in priuatly in the euening, beeing not able to sitt vpp. From Brampore toward Adsmere, for 6 dayes my course was much westerly or N.W. to Compasse the hills, but after due North, or so that the bearing from one another is next hand N. by W. and S. by E. The distance 209 *Courses*, which I Judge about 418 Miles english, the *Courses* beeing longer then toward the sea.

December 24-30.—I kept my bed and was not able to stirr, but sent my excuses to the king.

December 31.—This night the king, impatient of my delay and eager on his presents, suspecting I was not so ill as I pretended, sent a gentellman with a wyld hogg to mee for a Present, which hee kylld in hunting; and Chardged him to see mee, so that I was forced to admitt him into my Chamber, wher he saw my weaknes and gaue satisfaction to the king.

January 1-4, 1615-16.—I began to recouer and sitt vp.

January 5.—Master Edwardes departed for Suratt.

January 6-9.—I prepared to see the king.

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in the native tongue that Christ was the true prophet and Muhammad an impostor. Had it not been that "the English *fakír*" was universally regarded as mad, this prank might have had serious consequences. His inordinate vanity received a rude shock when Steel (of whom later) mentioned on his return from England that King James, hearing that Coryat was in India, had exclaimed: "Is that fool yet living?;" and he was equally annoyed when, upon his departure, Roe gave him, together with an order for 10*l*. on the consul at Aleppo, a letter wherein he referred to the traveller as "a very honest poor wretch."

Some letters of Coryat's from India were published in 1616; extracts from them will be found in Purchas's first volume (p. 592), where certain notes of his, given to Purchas by Roe, are also printed.

[1] Ajmere, 230 miles S.W. of Delhi and 48 miles from Jaipur in the same direction, had been a favourite abode of Akbar, who found it both a charming residence and a convenient centre for his operations in Rájputána. Jahángír had made it his head-quarters during the war with the Udaipur Rání, and had been there over two years at the date of Roe's arrival. Its situation is described as strikingly beautiful, surrounded as it is by well-wooded hills embowering a number of large lakes.

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January 10.—I went to Court at 4 in the euening to the *Durbar*,[1] which is the Place wher the Mogull sitts out daylie, to entertayne strangers, to receiue petitions and presents, to giue Commandes, to see, and to bee seene. To digresse a little from my reception, and declare the Customes of the Court, will enlighten the future discourse. The king hath no man but Eunuchs that Comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house: His weomen watch within, and guard him with manly weapons. They doe Justice on vpon another for offences. He comes every Morning to a wyndow called the *Jarruco*[2] looking into a playne before his gate, and showes him selfe to the Common People. At noone hee returns thither and sitts some howers to see the fight of Eliphants and willd beasts; vnder him within a rayle attend the men of rancke; from whence hee retiers to sleepe among his woemen. At afternoone he returnes to the *Durbar* before mentioned. At 8 after supper he Comes downe to the *Gazelcan*,[3] a faire Court, wher in the middest is a Throune erected of free stone

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[1] In Mr. Douglas's *Bombay and Western India* (i, p. 305) is given a coloured drawing from an old painting at Jaipur which, in the author's opinion, represents the Emperor Jahángír giving audience to Sir Thomas Roe. Such an interpretation, however, appears exceedingly doubtful, for the figure pointed out as Roe is not only very unlike him in appearance, but occupies quite a subordinate position in the picture. Moreover, the costume and weapons are native, whereas we know from Terry (p. 218) that Roe and his suite wore always English dress. "For my Lord Ambassadour and his Company, we all kept to our English habits, made as light and coole as possibly we could have them; His wayters in Red Taffata cloakes, guarded with green Taffata, which they alwayes wore when they went abroad with him; myself in a long black Cassock." We must therefore take leave to doubt the correctness of the ascription, especially as no such claim was put forward when the picture was first brought to notice in the *Journal of Indian Art*, No. 25 (1889).

[2] The *Jharukhá*, or "interview-window," which Roe describes at greater length later. The royal headquarters were at the fort, now called the Magazine, on the city side of which there is a window answering to Roe's description (*Rajputana Gazetteer*, ii, p. 123).

[3] *Ghuzl-khána*, "bath-room," hence "private apartment" (privy chamber).

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wherein he sitts, but some tymes below in a Chayre; to which are none admitted but of great qualetye, and few of these without leaue; wher he discourses of all matters with much Affabilitye.[1] Ther is noe busines done with him Concerning the state, gouerment, disposition of warr or peace, but at one of these two last Places, wher it is publiquely propounded, and resolued, and soe registred,[2] which if it were woorth the Curiositye might bee seene for two shillings, but the Common basse people knew as much as the Councell, and the Newes euery day is the kings new resolutions tossed and censured by euery rascall. This Course is vnchangeable, except sicknes or drinck preuent yt; which must be known, for as all his Subjects

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[1] Compare Terry's account (p. 389):—

"First, early in the morning, at that very time the Sun begins to appear above the Horizon, He appears unto his people in a place very like unto one of our Balconies, made in his houses or Pavilions for his morning appearance, directly opposite to the East, about seven or eight foot high from the ground; against which time a very great number of his people, especially of the greater sort, who desire as often as they can to appear in his eye, assemble there together, to give him the *Salam*, or good morning, crying all out, as soon as they see their King, with a loud voice, *Padsha Salamet*, which signifies, *live O great King*, or *O great King, health and life*. . . . At noon he shows himself in another place like the former, on the South-side; and a little before Sun-set, in a like place, on the West-side of his. house or Tent; but as soon as the Sun forsakes the Hemisphear, he leaves his people, ushered in and out with Drums and Winde instruments, and the peoples acclamations. . . . And between seven and nine of the clock at night, he sits within his House or Tent more privately, in a spacious place called his *Goozalcan*, or bathing house, made bright like day by abundance of lights; and here the King sits mounted upon a stately Throne; where his Nobles, and such as are favoured by him, stand about him; others find admittance to, but by special leave from his Guard, who cause every one that enters that place to breath upon them, and if they imagine that any have drunk wine, they keep him out."

"At this time my Lord Ambassadour made his usual addresses to him, and I often waited on him thither, and it was a good time to do business with that King, who then was for the most part very pleasant, and full of talk unto those who were round him, and so continued till he fell asleep (oft times by drinking), and then all assembled immediately quitted the place, besides those who were his trusted servants, who by turns watched his Person."

[2] See Blochmann's *Áín-i-Akbari*, i, p. 258.

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are slaues, so is he in a kynd of reciprocall bondage, for he is tyed to obserue these howres and Customes so precisely that if hee were vnseene one day and noe sufficient reason rendred the people would mutinie; two dayes noe reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores and bee seene by some to satisfye others.[1] On Tuesday at the *Jarruco* he sitts in Judgment, neuer refusing the poorest mans Complaynt, where hee heares with Patience both parts: and some tymes sees with too much delight in blood the execution done by his Eliphants. *Illi meruere: sed quid tu vt adesses?*[2]

At the *Durbar* I was led right before him, at the enterance of an outward rayle, where mett mee two Principall Noble slaues to conduct mee nearer. I had required before my going leaue to vse the Customes of my Country, which was freely granted, soe that I would performe them Punctually. When I entred within the first rayle I made a reuerance; entering in the inward rayle a Nother; and when I came vnder the king a theird. The Place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people. The king sitts in a little Gallery ouer head; Ambassidors, the great men and strangers of qualety within the inmost rayle vnder him, raysed from the ground, Couered with Canopyes of veluet and silke, vnder foote layd with good Carpetts; the Meaner men representing gentry within the first rayle, the people without in a base Court, but soe that all may see the king. This sitting out hath soe much affinitye with a Theatre—the manner of the king in his gallery; The great men lifted on a stage as actors; the vulgar below gazing on—that an easy description will informe of the place and

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[1] Cp. *Bernier's Travels* (Constable's edn.), pp. 265-6. An admirable description of the Mogul court and system of government will be found in Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's *Life of Aurangzib.*

[2] This may be freely rendered: "Doubtless they have merited their punishment; but why should you be present?"

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fashion. The king preuented my dull enterpreter, bidding me welcome as to the brother of my Master. I deliuered his Majesties lettre translated; and after my Commission, wheron hee looked Curiously; after, my presents, which were well receiued. He asked some questions, and with a seeming Care of my health, offering me his Phisitions, and aduising mee to keepe my house till I had recouered strength; and if in the interim I needed anything I should freely send to him, and obteyne my desiérs. He dismissed me with more fauour and outward grace (if by the Christians I were not flattered) then euer was showed to any Ambassador, eyther of the Turke or Persian, or other whatsoeuer.[1]

January 12.—Hee sent a gentellman for my Commission to show his queene the seale, which he kept one night, and returned yt with such care that the bringer durst not deliuer it but to my owne handes.[2]

January 14.—I sent to the Prince Sultan Coronne, his third sonne by byrth but first in fauour, that I determined to visitt him, not doubting he would vse me with due respect; for I was enformed he was enemy to all Christians and therfore feared some affront. He answered I should be welcome, and receiue the same Content I had from his father. Hee is lord of Suratt, our cheefe residence, and his fauour important for us.

January 15-21.—These dayes I stirred not abroad, the

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[1] Some additional details of Roe's presentation will be found in his letters on pp. 110 and 118. His commission and King James's letter are printed in Appendix B.

[2] This incident (omitted by Purchas) is significant. Probably Núr Mahál had expressed a doubt whether Roe were really a properly accredited ambassador, or (like his predecessors) a mere emissary of the merchants.

It is scarcely necessary to recall the romantic story of Núr Mahál (better known by her later title of Núr Jahán)—her marriage to Shír Afgan, his assassination, and her subsequent union with the emperor, who had already been attracted to her before her first marriage. At this period her influence over her husband was so unbounded that she practically ruled the empire, and Roe soon found out the error he had made in not seeking to conciliate her and her partisans.

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king and Prince beeing often a hunting, from whom I receiued two wild hoggs, part of their quarry.

To Lord Carew.[1]

Asmere, the Court of the Mogull,
Ianuary 17, 1615 [-16].

My Lord,

Only for promise, which is an honest debt, I send your Lordship a Iournall till my arriuall at Brampore, a Citie of houses made of mudde, where one of the Kings sonnes keepeth his Court. He is called Perueys. I had need to write an Apologie for it, there being nothing of worth, nothing memorable, and yet not my fault; but I had rather trust your Noblenesse, then trouble you with excuses; and so descend to a more vniuersall description of the state and customes of the Land.

They haue no written Law. The King by his owne word ruleth, and his Gouernours of Prouinces by that authoritie.

Once a week he sitteth in iudgement patiently, and giueth sentence for crimes Capitall and Ciuill. He is euery mans heire when he dyeth, which maketh him rich, and the Countrey so euill builded. The great men about him are not borne Noble, but Fauourites raised; to whom hee giueth (if it be true) wonderfull meanes. They are reckoned by Horses; that is to say; Coronels of twelue thousand Horses, which is the greatest (whereof are foure, besides his sonnes and wife): so descending to twentie Horses. Not that any of these are bound to keepe or raise any at all; but the King assigneth them so much land as is bound to maintaine so many Horses as a rent, each horse at fiue and twentie pounds sterling by the yeere, which is an incredible Reuenue giuen away, so many (that is, almost all but the Ploughmen, Artificers, and Tradesmen in Townes) liuing vpon it. But as they die, and must needs gather, so it returneth to the King like Riuers to the sea, both of those he gave to, and of those that haue gained by their owne industry. But for the most part he leaueth the widowes and children their horses, stuffe, and some other stocke, and then putteth them into a Signiory, if the fathers were of sixe or seuen thousand horses, perhaps of a thousand or fiue

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[1] This letter is not in the MS., and consequently is here printed from Purchas's work (i, p. 581), where it is introduced with a note that it was found "amongst Master Hakluyt his Papers." Purchas purposely omits the name of the person to whom it was addressed, but that this was Lord Carew is evident from the latter's reply (see *Letters of Lord Carew*, edited by J. Maclean for the Camden Society, p. 27). Carew also mentions the receipt of a letter from Roe dated at the Cape, and another which, together with a further portion of Roe's journal, reached him on the 28th September, 1617 (*Ibid.*, pp. 27, 122).

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hundred; and so setteth them to begin the world anew, and aduanceth them as they deserue of him. They all rise by presenting him, which they striue to doe both richly and rarely, some giuing a hundred thousand pounds in iewels at a time.

He hath one beloued wife among foure, that wholly gouerneth him. He receiued lately a Present from the King of Bisampore,[1] to obtaine peace (whose Ambassadour knocked his head three times against the ground) of six and thirtie Elephants, of two whereof the chaines and all tackles were of beaten Gold, to the weight of foure hundred pounds, two of siluer, of the same fashion, the rest of copper; fiftie Horses richly furnished, and ten *Leckes* of *Rupias* in Iewels, great Pearles, and Balasse Rubies. Euerie *Lecke* is an hundred thousand *Rupias*, euery *Rupia* two shillings sixe pence sterling;[2] so tenne *Leckes* is a Million of *Rupias*.

His Territorie is farre greater then the Persians, and almost equall, if not as great as, the Turkes. His meanes of money, by reuenue, custome of Presents, and inheriting all mens goods, aboue both. His Countrey lyeth West to Sinde, and so stretcheth to Candahar, and to the Mountaines of Taurus North; to the East as farre as the vtmost parts of Bengala, and the borders of Ganges; and South to Decan. It is two thousand miles square at the least, but hath many pettie Kings within, that are Tributaries.

The true descended heire of Porus, that was ouercome by Alexander, called Ranna, is lately conquered, more by composition then force; the King hauing rather bought him then wonne him, and hereby no way augmented his Reuenue, but giuen a great Pension to him.[3] His Countrey I crossed, betweene this Towne of Asmere and Brampore, Cetor hauing beene anciently the chiefe Towne, and surely standing on an hill, steepe as a Rocke, some fifteene miles about, that is all walled; the Citie within but with one ascent, and fiue admirable gates in the ascent, all ruined and no person dwelling. But there stand an hundred *Muschees*,[4] many Lanternes, and such reuerend and braue Reliques of Imagerie and carued workes, that few or hardly any where can be equalled. In generall, all the old Cities are beaten downe, by what policie I vnderstand not; but the King seeketh the ruine of any thing not begunne by his Ancestors, so that all the Land hath not an house fit for a Cottager, but in such Cities

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[1] Bíjápur. Roe evidently had this account from Coryat, who was an eye-witness, and describes the reception of the embassy in a letter dated Michaelmas, 1615 (*Purchas*, i, p. 595). He speaks of thirty-one elephants, and says the *whole present* was worth "ten of their Leakes, as they call them."

[2] "Some say two shillings, some two shillings three pence."—Note by Purchas.

[3] See p. 102.

[4] Hindu temples, he should say, not mosques.

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as hee fauoureth. Surat is best builded of any; and in old time they in these parts made mightie workes, which euery day decay. At Surat there is a Tanke for water of free-stone, in a polygon forme, of aboue an hundred sides, euery side eight and twenty yards; it hath staires on euery side for men to descend, and many stopes [slopes?] for horses. It is a wonderous worke, both for the hugeness and for the braue building.[1]

I haue now on the Court to touch, and mine entertainment. The King neuer vsed any Ambassadour with so much respect; without any dispute giuing mee leaue to vse mine owne customes, not requiring that of me, which he vseth of the Persian. He presented [preuented?] me with a welcome before I spake, and said the King and he were brothers, with many other courteous words. I hauing bin sicke, he offered me Physitians. He tooke the Presents in good part, and was so fond of the Coach, that at night in his Court he got into it, and made two or three of my men draw him a little in it. He is very affable, and of a cheerefull countenance, without pride. Three times a day hee sitteth out in three places: once, to see his Elephants and beasts fight, about noone; after, from foure to fiue or sixe, to entertaine all that visit him; at night, from nine till mid-night, with all his great men, but none else, where he is below with them, in all familiaritie. I visited him in the second of these, where I found him in a Court, set aboue like a King in a Play, and all his Nobles and my selfe below on a stage couered with carpets—a iust Theater; with no great state, but the Canopies ouer his head, and two standing on the heads of two wooden Elephants, to beat away flies. They weare nothing but Calicoes, but are euer attendant.

The great men ride in Traines, some two hundred, some fiue hundred, Foot-men following them, and foure or fiue Banners carried before them, and an hundred or two hundred Horses after them. This is all their pride. They keepe their Horses most delicately, fed with Butter[2] and Sugar; and though they be not very great, yet they are of delicate shape, both of Persia, Arabs, and of this Land.

I haue one Obseruation more to make of the falsenesse of our maps, both of Mercator and all others, and their ignorance in this Countrey. First, the famous Riuer Indus doth not emptie himselfe into the Sea at Cambaya as his chiefe mouth, but at

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[1] The celebrated Gopi-taláo, or Gopi-pond, so called from the name of the person at whose expense it was formed. It has long been dry, and is now used as a garden. A full description of it will be found in *The Travels of Della Valle*, i, p. 33 (Hakluyt Soc. ed.); see also Fryer, Mandelslo, Hamilton, and the *Surat Gazetteer* (p. 312).

[2] *Ghí* (see Blochmann's *Áín-i-Akbari*, i, p. 134).

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Sinde.[1] My reason is: Lahor stands vpon Indus, from whence to Sinde it is nauigable, to Cambaya not so. Lahor in the maps is also falsely set downe, it lying North from Surat aboue a thousand miles. The Citie where the Kings ordinarie residence is, Agra, not described at all; but it standeth North North-east from Surat on a Riuer that fals into Ganges. But the King now resideth in a base old Citie, wherein is no house but of mudde, not so great as a Cottage on Hownslo-heath; only himselfe hath one of stone. His Lords liue in Tents, and I haue suddenly built to my mudde wals, vpon canes, a doozen thatched roomes. This Towne is short of Agra ten daies iourney, two hundred miles, which standeth from hence North North-east. This place is from Bramport North foure hundred and fiftie miles; Bramport from Surat East aboue two hundred miles. The latitude neere fiue and twentie degrees.[2]

Thus, my Lord, I haue said some-what, but to little purpose. I forget not some Bookes for you; but Load-stones heere are none. They are in the farre East Countries. Neither is there any correspondence with China.[3] To Persia, and so to Aleppo, there goe carauans; to Cathaya none.

Heere is no newes but of Persia. The King hath taken away water and reliefe from Ormus, and banished the Portugals his Territories.[4] He hath lately ouer-runne the poore Georgians with fire and sword; and, being of an vnquiet nature, intendeth the conquest of the Vzbiques,[5] a Nation between Samarchand and him, which he aymes at. He lately strucke off his sonnes head with his owne hand.[6] Hee is fauoured and feared of the Mogoll, as being Lord of the more warlike Nation; for these are more then halfe *Bramanes*, whose Religion is not to kill a Louse byting them, and the Mogolls are an effeminate people. So that the Turke the last yeere sending on Ambassage to entreate him not to assist the Persian, hee gaue him very harsh entertainment; made him *Salem* to the ground; and, as soone as he was dismissed, sent the Persian ten *Leckes* of *Rupias*.

I shall be glad to doe your Lordship seruice in England; for this is the dullest, basest place that euer I saw, and maketh me weary of speaking of it. Therefore if you be also weary of read-

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[1] Cp. pp. 96 and 122. Della Valle points out the same error (*Travels*, Hakluyt Soc. ed., i, p. 63).

[2] These distances should be: Agra to Ajmere, 227 miles; Ajmere to Burhánpur, 440 miles; and Burhánpur to Surat (see note on p. 89), 237 miles. The true latitude of Ajmere is 26° 27′ 10″ N.

[3] See p. 97. [4] See p. 129. [5] The Uzbeg Tartars.

[6] Prince Mírza, the Shah's eldest son. When Jahángír received the Persian envoy (as described later), he inquired the reason for this act. The ambassador excused it on the ground that unless he had been thus prevented, the prince would certainly have slain his father (see the *Túzak-i-Jahángíri*).

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ing, I am glad. I shall desire your Lordship to let Master Hackwell[1] reade the Iournall; for I promised him one, but I had not leasure to write it.

And so, with all respect and little Ceremonie, I hope to returne to doe you better seruices. In the meane time to liue a miserable life, though with abundance and state enough; yet I want the conuersation and presence of those friends I loue and honour. In which number your Lordship hath made me presume to esteeme you, and to account my selfe

Your Lordships humble friend, to doe you seruice,
THOMAS ROE.

January 22.—I visited the Prince, who at 9 in the Morning sitts out in the same manner as his father, to dispatch his busines and to be seene of his followers. He is Proud Naturally, and I feard my entertaynment. But on some occasion he not resoluing to come out, when he heard of my arriuall, sent a Principall Officer to meete mee, who conducted mee into a good Roome (neuer before done to any), and entertayning me with discourse of our own bussines halfe an hower vntill the Prince was ready; who came abroad on purpose and vsed me better then his promise. I deliuered him a Present, such as I had, but not in the name of his Majestie, it beeing too meane; but excused it that the king could not take knowledge of his beeing lord of Suratt so lately conferred on him, but hereafter I doubted not his Majestie would send to him according to his woorth: this was the respect of the Merchants, who humbly recommended themselues to his fauour and protection. He receiued all in very good part; and after opening of some greauances and Iniuries suffered at Suratt by vs from his Gouernors, of which, for respect to him, I had forborne to Complayne to the king off, He promised mee speedy and effectuall Justice, and to confirme our securytye by any propositions I should

[1] William Hakewill (1574-1655), the legal antiquary. Carew (*Letters to Roe*, pp. 106, 107) refers to him as "your olld acquayntance Mr. Hackwell, the lawyer," and mentions his having married a niece of Bacon.

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JAHANGIR AND PRINCE KHURRAM

(from "Purchas His Pilgrimes")

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offer; professing to be ignorant of anything past, but what hee had receiued by Asaph Chan[1] deliuered by mee; especially of any Command to dismisse us,[2] which the Gouernor had falsly Coyned and for which he should dearly answer. Soe he dismissed mee full of hope to rectifye the decayed estate of our reputation, with promise of a *firmaen* for Suratt effectually.

January 24.—I went to the *Durbar* to visitt the King, who, seeing mee afarr off, beckned with his hand, giuing signe I should not staye the Cerimony of Asking leaue but Come vp to him; where hee appoynted me a place aboue all other men, which I after thought fitt to mayntayne.[3] I gaue him a small present,[4] it beeing the Custome when any body hath busines to giue somewhat, and those that cannot come neare to speake send in or hould up their guift, which hee eccepts, bee it but a *rupie*, and demands their bussines. The same course hee held with

[1] Mírza Abul Hasan, better known by his title of Ásaf Khán. He held a strong position at court, as son of the prime minister, elder brother of Núr Mahál, and father of Prince Khurram's favourite wife, Mumtáz Mahál. When the prince came to the throne as Sháh Jahán, Ásaf Khán was advanced to high dignities; and he died (November, 1641) in possession of great wealth. His eldest son was Sháista Khán, who, as Governor of Bengal, came into collision with the English settlers at Húglí.

[2] See pp. 74, 79. After Roe's departure the Governor had forced the General and others to give an undertaking in writing "for clearing the Cuntry after the expiration of one yeare to come, sayeing it was the great Mugolls pleasure to be soe ordred; yett not anye wayes denying vs free trade, but enioyned vs not to make any residence of aboad longer then our shipps were theare" (Peyton's Journal, f. 34).

[3] The exact position of each dignitary was minutely regulated (See *Áín-i-Akbari*, i, p. 160).

[4] A "clock and two other trifles" (*Letter to E. I. Co.*, January 25, 1615-16; reproduced in part at p. 118).

None of the presents given to the Mogul by Roe from time to time has been traced in after years. Mr. Keene, in 1874, exhibited to the Archæological Society of Agra an English striking watch, found in a well in the Fort there, which from its date (1614) he considered was probably one of the novelties brought by Roe for the emperor; but this, though not impossible, is only a conjecture.

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mee. Having looked Curiously and asked many questions of my present, he demanded what I required of him. I answered: Justice: That, on the assurance of his Majesties *Firmaen* sent into England, the king my Master had not only giuen leaue to many of his subjects to come a dangerous voyadge with their goodes, but had sent mee to Congratulate the amytye so happely begunne betweene two soe mighty Nations, and to Confirme the same: But that I found the English seated at Amadauas[1] enjured by the Gouernor in their Persons and goodes, fined, exacted upon, & kept as prisoners: that at euerie Towne new Customes were taken of our goodes passing to the Port, contrarie to all Iustice and the former Articles of trade.[2] To which hee answered hee was sorry; it should be amended; and presently gaue order for two *firmanes* very effectually according to my desire to be signed, one to the Gouernor of Amadavaz to restore mony exacted from Master Kerridge,[3] and to vse the English with all fauour. The

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[1] Ahmadábád.

[2] Roe had consulted Ásaf Khán, who had "encouraged him to complayne," that particular city "beeing absolute under the King."

[3] Thomas Kerridge, who in the following month (February 18, 1616) was chosen agent at Surat in succession to Aldworth. He had gone out with Best in 1612, and had spent some time at the Mogul court after the death of Canning. On Edwards' arrival, Kerridge moved down to Ahmadábád to provide indigo for the lading of the fleet. His letters from that city, and later from Surat, will be found in Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 9366. As will be seen, his imperious temper led to much friction between him and Roe, and though the latter acknowledged his opponent to be "quick and sufficient," he held that he had "too much heate and opinion of abilitye."

Kerridge was back in England by June, 1622, but in January, 1624, he was reappointed agent at Surat. He reached his post in October, and remained until 1628. After his return he was elected a "Committee" of the Company, and served almost continually till 1648. In 1646 he was nominated for the post of Deputy-Governor, but was not elected. In 1654-55 he took part in the management of the United Joint Stock; and this is the last trace we have of him.

The wrongs complained of in the text are detailed in Kerridge's letters mentioned above. At Ahmadábád, a dispute with a native merchant over some indigo led to their broker being beaten and imprisoned. Kerridge himself was beaten; and in addition was

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other to release all Customes required on any pretence on the way, or if any had beene taken to repay it; of his owne accord wishing mee that, if these gaue not speedy remedy, I should renew my Complaynt against the disobeyour, and hee should be sent for to answere there. And soe hee dismissed mee.

January 25-30.—I Made my dispatches for England, and wrote earnestly to the factory at Suratt for a Particular of the Gouernors debts, exactions and Iniuryes;[1] and solicited the *firmaens* Promised, of which the Prince sent by his officers one for Suratt, but withall Articles for mee to signe very dishonorable, wherin among others it was required that I should firme a Peace and safe Conduct to the Portugalles shippes and frigotts to Come safely to Suratt, without any accord, promise or Counter securytye of Peace on their Partes; which I vtterly refused, but made offer that for the Princes sake I was Content to giue the Viceroy of Goa 6 Monthes liberty to enter into leauge, and to open the Portes. But the present writing was required to be sealed; wherby, besydes the folly and dishonor, they might vnder coullor of Frendship haue rode amonge our fleete with boates laden with fire woorkes to haue taken aduantage. So, as I absolutely rejected the Motion, I was answered I should then haue no *firmaen* for Suratt. Soe it rested two dayes. I, supposinge the fault only in the Princes officers, sent to Asaph Chan, to complayne of the vnequalle demandes of Sultan Carronne and that the *firmaen* promised beeing sealed was deteyned from mee, Contrarye to all the Prinnces faire woordes and

fined on the pretext that he had defrauded the governor of the estate of Aldworth, who was alleged to have died in the town and to have been carried forth by the English to escape the confiscation of his goods. When the English merchandise was ready to start for Surat the governor demanded four per cent. duty, though at last he accepted one and a half per cent., and a bribe of a hundred rupees.

[1] This had been asked for by the Prince at the late interview.

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his owne assurances of the Iustice; but insteed of releefe I found Asaph Chan the author of this deuice and an earnest disputer for the reasonablenes therof; and soe returned me a round answer, that vnlesse I would signe the one I should not haue the other. This awaked me. I saw now the faction, but was irresolute what to doe. Asaph Chan was a broken reede; the Prince gouerned by him; the King was my only refuge, from whom I was sure of Iustice if I Complaynd, but I feard I should drawe vpon me the hate of Normall the beloued queene, Ante to Sultan corrons wife, sister of Asaph Chan, whose daughter the Prince married, and all that Powerfull faction, against whom, though I might once preuayle, yet the aduantage of tyme, language, and oportunitye, the Power of a wife, a sonne, and a fauorite, would produce reuenge. Soe that I resolued to temporize, and to see if I could remoue Asaph Chan from his opinion, and then all would follow; if not, to take a desperate remedy, when I saw all other wayes were desperat.

To the East India Company.

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 335.[1])

Adsmere, 25 January, 1615 [-16].

.... By the 10th of January I recouered so much strength as to sitt on a horse; and, having demanded leaue, presented myself to the King .... After many Complements, I vsd some woordes to him, deliuering his Majesties lettre and showing my Commission, the Coppy wherof (I meane the lettre) I then alsoe deliuered in Persian; after that, your presents ..... He sitting in his state could not well descerne the Coach, but sent many to see yt, and Caused the Musitian to play on the Virginalls there, which gaue him good Content.[2] .... At night, hee having stayd the

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[1] There is a copy of this letter in *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 70, and it has been printed (in part) in Churchill's *Collection*, vol. i. The necessity of economising space has led to the omission, in this and the succeeding letters, of particulars already related in the journal, etc.

[2] Of the coach and coachman, see the entry under Nov. 2, 1616. The musician was a Thomas Armstrong. The Mogul soon got tired of him, and dismissed him with a present of 96 rupees. With this he made his way down to Surat, and there obtained permission to embark in Pepwell's fleet for Bantam (*O. C.*, Nos. 423 and 445).

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Coachman and Musitian, he came downe into a Court, gott into the Coach, into euery Corner, and causd it to be drawne about by them. Then he sent to me, though 10 a clock at night, for a seruant to tye on his scarfe and swoorde[1] the english fashion, in which he tooke so great pryde that he marched vp and downe, draweing yt and flourishing, and since hath neuer beene seene without yt. So that in conclusion he accepted your presents well; but after the English were come away he asked the Iesuyte whether the King of England were a great Kyng that sent presents of so small valewe, and that he looked for some Iewells. To this purpose was I often felt by some, before I sawe him, whither I had brought Iewells or no. But raretyes please as well, and if you were furnished yearly from Francford, wher are all knacks and new deuises, 100 *li.* would goe farther then 500 *li.* layd out in England, and here better acceptable . . . . . Ther is nothing more welcome here, nor euer saw I man soe enamord of drincke as both the King and Prince are of redd wyne, wherof the Gouernor of Suratt sent vp some pottle. Euer since, the Kyng hath sollicited for more. I thinck 4 or 5 handsome cases of that wyne wilbe more welcome than the richest Iewell in Cheapesyde. Pictures, lardge, on cloth, the frames in peeces; but they must be good, and for varyetye some story, with many faces, for single to the life hath beene more vsuall. If the Queene must be presented (which I will not aduise too, and doe purpose, as well out of necessytye as Iudgment, to breake this Custome of daylye bribing) fine needle woorke toyes, fayre bone lace, cuttworke, and some handsome wrought wastcote, sweetbagges or Cabinetts, wilbe most Convenient . . . . I would add any faire China Bedsteeds, or cabinetes or truncks of Japan are here rich presentes. Lately the King of Bisampore sent his Ambassador with 36 Elephantes, two with all their chaines of wrought beaten gould, 2 of siluer, the rest Brasse, and 40 rich furnished horses, with Iewells to the valew of 10 *lecks* of *rupies;* yet withall he sent China ware and one figure of christall, which the King accepted more then that masse of wealth.[2]

. . . . . This place is either made, or of itselfe vnfitt for an ambassador.[3] I speak against myself, but I will enforme truth;

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[1] These were Roe's own property, substituted by him for some scarlet cloth which he judged unfit to be presented. The sword, says Salbank, in a letter to the Company (*O. C.*, No. 568), "did yeeld svch svrpassing Content vnto him that for a month or more scarce did he Come to any pvbliqve shewe without the sward hard by him."

[2] See p. 111.

[3] Roe was already anxious to return. Writing to Smythe (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 69) at this time, he begged him to arrange for his return in 1617 or 1618, "this Cuntry neyther promising profitt nor agreeing with my disposition of mynd or body . . . . . I haue had seven could Agues [and] two feuers since my beeing at Bramport."

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For though they vnderstand the qualetye, yet they haue much adoe to vnderstand the priuiledges which that qualetye with vs doth require, the rather because they haue euer beene sought too humbly and they expect as much of mee . . . . .

To the Kings Majestie.
(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 76.)

29 January, 1615 [-16].

May it please your Majestie,

That I haue the Honor to be calld your Majesties Ambassador me thinckes requires out of the nature of the Place, at least embouldens mee, to send your Majestie these humble lines; otherwise the importance of what I can write is not woorth one the least pause or interruption of your maiesties higher meditations. To relate the Customes of this Cuntry, the state of the Court or their gouerment, were fitter to beguile the wearines of the way (like a tale) at your Majesties stirrop then for a discourse in earnest. Fame hath done much for the Glory of this place. Yet it cannot be denyed that this King is one of the mightyest Princes in Asia, as well in extent of territory as in revenew; equall to the Turke, far exceeding the Persian. But the Gouerment so vncertayne, without written law, without Policye, the Customes mingled with barbarisme, religions infinite, the buildings of mudd (except the Kings howses and some few others): that eauen this greatnes and wealth that I admired in England (reseruing due reuerence to the Persons of Kyngs) is here, wher I see yt, almost contemptible, and turnes myne eyes with infinite longings to see your Maiesties face and happines.[1] . . . . .

The trade here will doubtlesse in tyme bee very profitable for your Maiesties Kingdomes, and may vent much cloth; but as yet our condition and vsadge is so bad (notwithstandinge fayre woordes) that will require much patience to suffer, much Industry to sett vpright.

They feare the Portugall, they feare vs, and between both patch vp a frendship; but in hart (if we were of force) more vnsound to them then vs.

The Portugall professing here himselfe enemy to your Maiesties subiects, speaking vnreverently and falsly of your Maiesties estate and greatnes with many bragging insolencyes, having twice with a great *Armado* assaulted vs and by Gods assistance repulst, and beeing twice well beaten, hath so lessened his reputation (which was his strength) that his vtter ruyne were an easy woorke.

The Dutch hath planted below Goa, the seat of the viceroy, and beaten him in late sea fights, and dayly wynns ground vpon him, and our trade hath soe deminished his returns that not halfe

[1] The description of Roe's reception is omitted, as it contains nothing fresh.

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the Gallions that were vsually laden in these parts are sett out and those doe little more then defray chardge.

The King of Persia hath distressed Ormus that the Portugalls are retyred to the Castle, which is in great want, all releafe from the mayne beeing taken away and the residers in his whole dominion (of that nation) banished.[1] Doubtlesse hee would putt it into the hands of the English, for his want of shipping.

They are in all this quarter in theyr wane, and might, while they are swimming for life, easily be suncke: a matter of great consequence, as well to abate their Pride of the Spanish empire as to Cutt off one master vayne of their wealth. And it hath beene obserued *malum omen*, when any kingdome having risen suddenly to an vnwildy height, that one eminent limme, like a Pinnacle of a tower, hath fallen off.

If your Majestie were pleased to grant by your gratious commissions leaue for the East Indya Company to assault as well as defend only[2] (it beeing the nobler part of a warr, to which we are bound whensoeuer the enemy is stronge) it would strike such a terror and giue such reputation to our cause as would almost decide the contention for this trade at once, and stopp theyr mouthes from bragging that, for offending the King of Spayne, we dare not assayle, only we defend ourselves, which euery liuing would doe.[3]

Doubting much exclamation hath come to your Majesties eares that the Company transports great summes, aboue their licence, to doe your Majestie seruice by enforming truth if it had beene so, or to free them if falsly accused, I haue searched the invoice of euery ship and do deliuer it, on that creditt which I had rather dye then abuse to your Majestie, that this fleete had but 43572 royalls sterling mony (somwhat aboue 10000*l.*),[4] beeing not a theird of the Cloth and other goodes.

The Persian Kyng hath lately with fire and swoord wasted and subdued the poore free Georgian Christians, and with his owne Arme strooke off his eldest sonnes head. Reuenge is like to follow, the Turke preparing to enter his Country with terrible hostilitye by the way of Bagdatt.

If your Majestie but pardon my presumption and errors, which

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[1] See p. 129.

[2] See Roe's commission in Appendix B, which followed closely in this respect the royal commissions issued to the commanders of the Company's fleets.

[3] Cp. p. 99.

[4] The outcry against the Company's exportation of coin is familiar to students of seventeenth-century economics. By their current charter (1609) 30,000*l.*, might be exported in each fleet, to be replaced by the importation of an equal amount within six months of the return of the ships. In a subsequent grant (11th July, 1616) the rate at which the piece of eight rials was to be reckoned for this purpose was fixed at four shillings (*First Letter-book of the East India Co.*, p. 489).

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will vanish before the brightnes of your wisdome, I am acquitted of the fault, because I haue spoken with sincerity, though perhaps without Judgment.

I humbly desire your Majestie to beleefe I would despise 100 lifes to your humble seruice, which seeing my Pilgrimage interrupts, I will in my dayly vowes and meditations to Almighty God supplicat a long, glorious and happy raygne among your subjects, and that, having fullfild much tyme, you may reigne for euer in the Kingdom of Eternitye.

Your Majesties most loyall subject
and humble seruant,
THO. ROE.

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF CANTERBURY.[1]

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 74.)

Adsmere, 29 January, 1615 [-16].

May it please your Grace,

Places farr remote, having somwhat of woonder in the distance, cause much expectation in themselues of strange matter among the vulgar, such as I supposing they should haue subject of woorthy and lardge discourse. But these are vnlike the Starres, that seeme lesse the farther off. Heere the remotenes is the greatnes, and to mainteyne the ancyent prirueledge of trauellers, they haue beene so farre Alchymists as Multiplication, some ground, some spiritt, to quicken the body of their monstrous relations.

Wher I shall begin, what I shall say woorthy one of your Graces vacancyes from great Affayres, I know not. To vndertake a Cosmographicall description were a labor not vnwoorthy of tyme, but not proportionall to a lettre; Ortelius, Mercator, Atlas, nor any vnderstanding any truth herein. Yet for the maynnes of the error, I will obserue that the famous riuer Indus doth not powre himselfe into the Sea by the bay of Cambaya, but far westward, at Sindu.[2] For from Lahor, standing a thousand myle North, into the Mayne vpon Indus, it is nauigable to Syndu; to Cambaya not, but certayne bye-streames begotten by the seasons of rayne

[1] Printed by Purchas in his first volume, p. 582, but with an incorrect date (27th Jan.), and without any indication of the person to whom it was addressed. Much of it has been omitted here, as repeating what has already been said in the letters to Carew and others. Abbot's reply, dated 20th Jan., 1616-17, is among the State Papers at the Record Office. It will be remembered that the Archbishop was brother to Sir Maurice Abbot, the Deputy-Governor of the Company and a friend of Roe.

[2] Diul-Sind, or Láríbandar, at the mouth of the Indus, on its E. side. The original seaport of the delta was Debal or Dewal, which is believed to have stood upon or near the site of modern Karáchí. This was reduced to ruins by a Muhammadan invasion, and another town, bearing

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make mightie invndations, which haue cherished the error. All the rest is as false both in bearing, distance, longitude and latitude as that; but the correction heere incomprehensible. The true latitude of this place fiue and twentie degrees and a halfe.[1]

A discription of the land, customes, and manners, with other accidents, are fitter for wynter-nightes. They are eyther ordinary, or mingled with much barbarisme. . . .

Lawes they haue none written. The Kyngs judgment byndes, Who sitts and giues sentence with much patience, once weakly, both in Capitall and Criminall causes; wher sometymes he sees the execution done by his Eliphants, with two much delight in blood.

His Gouernors of Prouinces rule by his *Firmanes*, which is a breefe lettre authorising them. They take life and goodes at pleasure.

Many religions, and in them many Sects; *Moores* or *Mahumetans* adhering to Aly[2] (such is the King); *Banians* or *Pythagorians*, for the transmigration (and therefore will not kyll the Vermyne

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the same name, was built on a spot further to the east (M'Murdo, in *Journal R.A.S.*, i, p. 29). To the Portuguese this became known as Diul-Sind, *i.e.* the Diul of Sind, to distinguish it from their other settlement of Diu in Káthiáwár. The English, who first heard of it in 1612-13, called it sometimes Diulesinde or Sindee, but more often Laree, Lowribunder, or some other variant of the usual native name. As the port of Tatta, Lárībandar was in Roe's time a place of considerable trade; but changes in the Indus delta reduced it gradually to insignificance, and now even its site is doubtful.

The identification of Diul-Sind with Lárībandar has been disputed (*e.g.*, in Major Raverty's learned and valuable articles on *The Mihrán of Sind*, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. 61, pt. 1 and extra No.). But, apart from the fact that Sidi Ali Kapudan (quoted in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 247) identifies Diul with Lahori (which is surely Lárībandar), it seems impossible that there could have been at the same time two cities at the mouth of the Indus, each serving as the seaport of Tatta, and each containing a Portuguese factory. The port at which Sherley landed in 1613 is styled Diulesinde by Peyton, who was master of the ship that carried him out; yet we find Kerridge writing (*Letters Received*, ii, p. 106) that the ambassador had landed at "Laurebander, the port of Sinda;" and Withington (*Purchas*, i, p. 483) heard rumours at the same time that English ships had arrived at "Lowribander, the Port Towne of Gutu Negar Tutta." Evidently Peyton knew nothing of a second seaport in the same district, for both in his list of Portuguese factories and his map of the Indus (*Addl. MS.* 19276) Diul-Sind alone figures; and in all the early English accounts (so far as is known) reference is made only to the one or the other, never to both. It will be seen that only one (Diul) is shown on Roe's map.

[1] See note on p. 113.

[2] Shías, the Muhammadans who upheld the claims of Alí and his descendants to be the true successors to the Caliphate. The Moguls, however, belonged to the Sunní sect, which opposed this view. The statement in the text regarding Jahángír must not be pressed beyond a general reference to his heterodoxy.

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that bytes them) who often buy many dayes respite in charety from kylling any flesh at all, in such a Prouince or Cytty; *Gentills* of sundry Idolatryes, theyr Wiues adorning the Pyle, and entring the funerall fyres with great joy and Honor. . . .

All the polycye of his state is to keepe the greatest about him, or to pay them afarre off liberally. No counsell, but euery Officer answers to the King apart his duty.

He is of Countenance Cheerfull, and not proud in nature, but by habitt and Custome; for at nights he is veary affable, and full of gentle conversation. . . .

Neuer were such oportunytyes to dischardge the Portugall from all these Coastes. . . . We haue now twice beaten a great *Armado* with few shipps, an *Armado* that was appoynted *por castigar los hereticos Ingleses* (the woords of one Father to another), and after to punish the Mogull for enterteyning vs; so that he hath lost more in reputation (which was his strength) then in substance. But if his Majestie would condescend that wee should assault them, as they doe vs, it would vtterly breake them, it beeing both the Nobler and safer part of a Warr (to which wee are subject at theyr pleasurs) then to defend always. Besides, they make this vse in reports of vs, that the King of England is so afrayd of the King of Portugall, that he dares not warrant an assault, but only to defend. What they say of the Kyng and our Nation is so slanderous, that *Peritt sua mole.*

Further East, the Dutch hath taken many townes, and Playes the mole better then he; and hath beaten him in many Sea Conflicts. He is declining on all sydes, and a little weyght on his head now layd would sincke him. It is a matter of great consequence for future tymes; and, though I haue no hope, I propound yt to your Grace to make what vse seemes best to your wisedome. I haue reward enough if I haue pardon for my talketiuenes, but it is obedience to your Grace, and not presumption, whose wisedome and sinceryty I did euer Honor, to whom I shalbe happy to be tyed

In all humble seruices,
THO. ROE.

January 31.—Hojay Nassan, the New designed Gouernor of Suratt,[1] came to visitt mee and to excuse him selfe of

[1] Khoja Násar had been governor some time before, and was well acquainted with all that had taken place there regarding the English. His appointment in supersession of Zúlfikár Khán was mentioned in Roe's letter to the Company of the 25th of January, also his overtures to the ambassador: "he was our ould enemy and feares my oposition." The interview here referred to is thus described by Roe in a subsequent letter, dated February 24, 1615-16:—"In my last I aduised you of the small hope wee might conceiue of Hoyja Nassan, the new farmer, rather then Gouernor, of Suratt, by some discourse

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an accusation made to me against him, with whom for his manifould protestations I contracted a frendship.

February 1.—Seeing noe effect in the kings promise for Amadauaz and the rubbes geuen in that of Suratt, I went to visitt Asaph Chan, who receiued me vnmannerlye. But my busines closed myne eyes, that I entred into discourse of my employment in generall, and assured him I came not hither to be abused. I desired him to remember that by his aduice I had refrayned to Complayne to the King of the Passadges of Suratt and that my respect to the Prince yet deteyned mee, but that I could not long endure; that if I were enforced to yt the fault was his, for which, though I should be sorry, yet I was free from blame. After some discourse he begann to Change, and to encline to mee so farr, that I should haue the *firmaen* as I desiered, only he required my woord that if the King wrote to Goa to signifye the Iustnes of my demandes (which was only free and quiett trade, and protection from Iniury), and could procure the Viceroy to enter into the leauge, that I would attend the answere and receiue them, to which I agreed; and in the Interim he promised me

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he vsd of wearying vs by little and little; vpon which I sent him a message that it was strange he would threaten a Nation licensed by the authorytye of his soueraynge before he was warme in his seate: that he was ould, and should be wiser: he knew vs better then any other, that we traded peacably and fayrly: that if by his folly he gaue vs occasion to doe other and brake the Peace, the misery would light on him, for neyther should his port be open to goe out nor any suffered to come in, nor his head secure, no, not in his Castle. To which he answered he had neuer vsd any woordes agaynst vs, and that he was our frend and would on the morowgh come and satisfie mee more at lardge; which he performed, denying by his God the woordes accused off, vowing all respect to our Nation, and protesting that I should be Gouernor of Suratt and Command the Towne, he only would be my deputy; with many Complements, offering suertyes for his fidelitye. We became great Frendes and enterchangeably made sundry professions, on my part euer with reseruation that if he wronged the english in his authorytye, no respect could withhould mee from prosequuting him like an enemy."

As a matter of fact, Khoja Násar did not go to Surat as governor, Ibráhim Khán (see p. 82) being appointed to that post.

redresse in all particulars, and if the Portugall refused, that then I should draw what Articles I would for our Nation, and hee would procur them to be signed. On these tearmes we parted with seeming Content and Complements on both parts.

February 2.—Asaph Chan sent me the two *firmaens* for Amadauaz,[1] which he had kept sealed a weeke with Coulorable delayes.

February 3.—Samuel Peirce was sent me from Agra, that had robbd the Cash at Amadauaz.[2] The mony was seized by the Gouernor.

February 4.—I procured Asaph Cans lettre for the Monny, which was deliuered to the English.

February 5.—I dispatched an expresse to Amadauaz with the *firmaens* for Master Kerridge.

February 6-9.—The king sent me a hynd, as tall as a horse but veary leane.

February 10.—I receiued lettres from Masters Crowder and Steele employed into Persia, directed to Master Edwardes and the factory, which I opened.[3]

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[1] See p. 116.

[2] The incident is described in Kerridge's letters (*Addl. MS.* 9366). In the previous December, Pierce had presented himself at the house at which the English were living in Sarkhej, near Ahmadábád, pretending that he had been sent by the General with letters which he was to carry to Agra, but had been robbed of them on his way. Finding that the factors were suspicious, and had sent to Surat to inquire into the truth of his story, he broke open the trunk of the cashier while the latter was changing his stockings, took out a sum of over four hundred rupees, and decamped. Apparently he had been captured by the *kotwal* with the money still in his possession.

[3] See p. 96. Crowder arrived a little later, and handed over his papers to Roe. The Surat factors were much displeased with him for this, and later on the ambassador had to interfere to shield him against their resentment. He appears to have died at Burhánpur some time in 1617. Roe describes him as "a gentle, quiet and sufficient fellow."

Richard Steel, "a young man of Bristol," had crossed Persia from the west in the summer of 1614 in chase of John Midnal, who had absconded from Aleppo with a quantity of goods; and his glowing account of the opportunities of trade in that country had induced Aldworth to retain him at Surat until—as already mentioned—the opportunity came of sending him back with a companion to make

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February 12.—At night Asaph Chan sent in great hast to desire mee to come speake with him, vsing the kings Name to quicken mee. I went and on the way mett diuers Messengers, which made me woonder at the hast and suspect some great Change. When I came I found him writing as hee pretended for the king, desiering me to stay in an outward roome among sutors and seruants, which I did a while, much against my stomack. But presently went by his supper, which he mente to eate with his frendes while I attended. When I sawe it, I rose vp full of just indignation, and departed his house, sending only this message, that if his greatnes were no more then his manners he durst not vse me soe: that I was an Ambassador from a mighty and free Prince and in that qualety his better, and scorned to attend his banquetings: that I Iudgd it want of Ciuilitye and barberisme, rather then a purposed affront and therfore would forgiue him without complayning to the king: but that if hereafter wee were to meete, I would expect he should better remember himselfe and know mee, and if he had any message Now from the king hee might send it by my seruant. To this hee answered not a woord, but layed his finger on his mouth, a signe that he had erred; and tould my messenger that the Prince had sent me the *firmaen* desired for Suratt, but withall the securitye for the Portugall to be firmed by mee: and that a seruant of the Princes was there ready to deliuer one and receiue the other. My interpreter, knoweing my resolution, answered hee was sure I would not accept any *firmaen* on soe dishonorable Conditions, to giue our enemyes Peace, when they could not make warr, and to leaue them at liberty when they were better able. So Asaph Chan

further inquiries, and, if possible, procure privileges. He was then to proceed to England and report to the Company, while Crowder made his way back to India. We shall hear later of Steel's return to India in the 1617 fleet, and the troubles that ensued.

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seemed to app[r]oue the reason and desired the Princes seruaut to mooue him to send it without any Conditions, aud dismissed myne.

February 18.—I dispatched an expresse for Hispan in Persia with lettres for the Sophy[1] and a packett into England, directed first to one William Robbins[2] (seruant to Arnold Lulls), and after to the Ambassador at Constantanople, or the Consull of Aleppo.

To the East India Company, by the way of Persia.

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 81.)

14 Feb., 1615 [-16].

Honored Frendes,

Since my last of the 25th and 29th of January,[3] sent by Captaine Newport, in the later of which I made known to you some difference betweene the Prince and mee concerning the Portugalls, I haue receiued these inclosed from Persia, though not directed to mee by name, yet as I thought necessary for me to open, you having, to my knowledge, no Cape merchant in the Country. . . . . I haue by two wayes ouer land dispeeded with all expidition these and theyr Coppy: not only that you may know what they Conteyne but to giue my Judgment of the busines, how it is, to what ends, by what means, and, if it be possible, which way this new resolution may be diuerted, for Master Steele hath not (in myne opinion) seene farr into the misterye if, as he writes, he beleeues he hath procured for you a trade. His owne desire to doe yt may blind his Judgment. . . . . You shall fynd here among these a fayr Command to the Gouernors of Jassques[4] and other sea Ports, if any english shipes arriue, to give them trade and entreat them frendly, and in the seuerall lettres many

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[1] The title by which the King of Persia was generally known to Europeans. It is derived from *Súfí* or *Safí*, the family name of the reigning dynasty. The monarch here referred to is the famous Sháh Abbás (1585-1629).

[2] An English jeweller, who had found his way to Ispahan, and had there obtained profitable employment. When, later on, Connock and other English factors arrived, he was of considerable service to them in their efforts to obtain privileges from the Sháh. He was admitted into the Company's service in May, 1619, but died a few months after. His linguistic attainments are praised in Roe's letter to Smythe of November 27, 1616 (see later).

[3] See p. 118 for the former, and f. 77 of the MS. for the latter (not printed).

[4] Jáshak, in the Sea of Oman. The *farmán* is printed in *Purchas*, i, p. 519.

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clauses that a trade is procured you, that ther is hope you shall haue licence to fortefye, and a great opinion of the excellency of the woorke done, flattering themselues, wheras the whole scope and marrow of the relation is quite contrary; and it seemes to me, by these very lettres that promise trade, almost impossibilitye of obteyninge yt. For thus much I collect out of the history, which agreeing with other circumstances known to me heere is doubtlesse truth, that, before any intelligence of the Turks purpose of invasion, the Persian for many reasons was resolued against the Portugalles to open his owne way to sea and to keepe his Gulph free for all Nations and to dischardge yt of the Portugall bondage, and to this Purpose tooke Bandell[1] theyr foort on the Mayne, distressd the Iland by cutting off provisions, and sett a day of exile to all the residers in his land. But this Cloud from Turky threatning a storme on euery side, when hee had sett that noble project afoote, diuerted him wholy to attend his owne safety and to weaken his enemy, resoluing for the present vpon his ould Course, to waste his borders that the Turke might fynd no forradge, and to forbidd all Carauans or Merchantes passadge into Turky. In this Exigent ariued Sir Robert Sheirley and was welcommed like one that brought some new hopes or remedye. He, that was to make his fortune by imployment and to mayntayne his Creditt by New projectes, finding the Emperor in trouble and irresolute, the Portugalles in disgrace and Neede, tuned the ould string of some way diuerting the whole trade of Persia from Turky; and beeing assured that the King of Spayne would for many reasons accept of yt, solicited by the friars, men of his owne faith,[2] he offered to procure that, conditionally the Spaniard might receiue all the silkes and haue leaue to refortefye Bandell and some other ports, the king to send royally euery yeare a fleete which should both bring ready mony for most part and for the rest should serue him with spyces, pepper, Indian lynnen, and such Comodities: That the Emperor should not doubt his fortefying, for it would be easy for him to turne them out if he procurd Peace from the Turke: in the mean tyme they were his fittest allyes, because they were euer ennimyes to the Turke. This is the resolution, and to this

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[1] See pp. 113, 121. The reference is to the capture of the Portuguese fort at Gombroon, established there in 1612 to secure provisions and water for their settlement at Ormus. After its capture it was entirely destroyed by the Persians, who, however, built a larger fort near the site of the old one. From this period dates the rise of Gombroon or Bandar Abbásí, as the new settlement came to be called—a rise much accelerated by the destruction of Ormus in 1622 (Bocarro's *Decada XIII*, c. 79; Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa* (Stevens' transln.), iii, pp. 208, 262; *O. C.*, No. 700, in I. O. Records). "Bandell" is of course "Bandar," "the port." Faria y Sousa speaks of this place as "el puerto de Bandel" (iii, p. 241).

[2] Sherley was a Roman Catholic.

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purpose hath Sir Robert procured himselfe an imployment into Spayne, wher I doubt not hee wilbe veary wellcome.

It needes be no question wheither the Spaniard will accept off this offer. First, it will add to the Kings Coffers 1,000,000 of Crownes yearly. Secondly, it will occasion him to send good fleetes into these coasts, which will not be Idle. Therdly, it will recouer him all his reputation, that was eauen sick to death in this quarter, for the disgusts of Persia and the danger of Ormus was like a plaugesore in his syde. Lastly, the Mogull, who harkens after him[1] and his proceedings and will judge first by the peace made, after by the number of shippes that will hant this Coast, that it wilbe wisedome to follow the example and entyrely embrace the Spaniard. Now to the Command granted by the Persian in behalfe of our Nation, it is of no consequence, for who would doubt that he would refuse vs leaue to trade? But what Conditions are there to deliuer silke, or to receiue vs only, such as are sent into Spayne? Sir Robert Shirly could not, beeing an English man, refuse to procure that that was euen due by Common equetye and to which the Persian was inclinable, and as yet it was folly to reject vs, beeing not assured of the Spaniard; but he hath discouered playnely his hart another way, and knowes that if his Embassadge succeed in Spayne, this command will fall of yt selfe, for that all is conditioned to the Spaniard, and the Coast giuen him, and then we must obteyne leaue of him, not of the Persian. That he hath a message to the King of England I beleeue is a Colour to deceiue these the easier; for how dares, or with what face can hee see his souerayne, to whom and to whose kingdomes he hath done soe ill offices? That he will breake off with the kyng of Spayne and come for England, if Sir Thomas Smith hould intelligence with him, is a meere mockery, for that is beyonnd his Commission, or at least another string to his bow if the Spaniard refusse. No, he hath a *Discalsadoe*[2] Portugall for his Confessor and hee knowes that the start in this busines wynns yt, and is sure of great reward from the Spaniard for him selfe; and eauen this, were ther no other, makes me suspect his affection, that to wynne tyme of Steele, least hee should arriue in Christendome before him, he hath taken Robinns the Englishman with him toward Ormus, who is become keeper of the Commandes, and without whose presence it seemes Steele cannot dispatch; which him selfe sees, though somwhat darkley.

The Consequence of this is very important; eauen for his

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[1] The Sháh.

[2] Barefooted (Ital. *discalsato*). The ecclesiastic was no doubt a "discalsed Carmelite," and is probably to be identified with the "Carmelite friar," who later opposed the efforts of Barker to obtain privileges from the Sháh (*Cal. S. P., E. Indies*, 1617-21, p. 303).

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Maiesties estate, for that will add both wealth and creditt to that nation, that I can neuer beleeue wilbe our frend longer then whyle their owne wants Constreyne them.

It wilbe very dangerous for your trade here, in respect that your enemy wilbecome your strong neighbour, wheras he was languishing and wearing to nothing. Therfore, if it be possible, you must seeke some preuention. For my part I haue ventured to write to the Persian kyng my opinion of his resolution and enlightned him with some better vnderstanding of the Spaniardes Nature and qualety, wher they gett footing, and to lett him see he may vent his silkes and all the Comodytyes of his Country at better rates, if he erect a free mart in some Coast towne for all Nations, then to be bound to the Spaniard, who will creepe the first yeare and insult the next; offering our selues to trade with him royally, if hee wilbe pleased to stay his resolution of deliuering him selfe into the wardship of the Spaniard. The Coppy of which at lardge is herein enclosed.

I can doe you no further seruice but aduenture my poore advise what you should doe in England, if by this lettre or Master Steele[s] Intelligence this Spanish negotiation come to you before Sir Robert Sheirleys arriuall in Spaine (which wilbe in July 1616[1]), to sollicite his Maiestie to Command his Embassador resident there to woorke him to propound a peace in those seas between the English and Spaniardes and so to offer the dessigning of a free place for trade, pretending that, if the Spaniard should haue yt alone, the seas would neuer be quiett: that the English would infest the Coast, and nothing but warr would ensue: wheras there was Comodytye enough for both, and with more profitt on both sydes then eyther to defend or gayne yt by a warr. And though I doubt not but Sir Robert Sheirley vsd the woordes, of quitting Spayne and Comming for England, to abuse Master Steele, yet he may be taken in his owne Nett, and they may serue to be vrdged to him in his Maiesties name as a promise. Though this take no great effect, nor that I beleeue eyther the Spaniard will agree to peace Nor Sir Robert Sheirly effectually and Cordially moue yt, yet by the negotiation he shall loose some tyme and you may send two shipes vpon the Coast and gett this start, to offer your selues first, really there, wherby you shall engage the Emperor, eauen in good Nature, to be willing to make conditions for you; but to expect any trade (as I signifyed in my last lettres), except it be royally vndertaken, that the Persian may be sure of full vent, is a vayne hope. You may range the Coast one yeare, and make a saving voyage, but

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[1] In the letter to King James, referred to on the next page, Roe states that Sherley embarked at Ormus for Spain, with his wife and many followers, at the end of January, 1615-16.

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fynd little silke, which growes aboue,[1] nor vent much Cloth, which is Comoditye only fitt for the remotest parts, neyther doe I perceiue by Steele that much will vent at all; but his aduise is good, that if you only serue them with Pepper and Indian Comodytye great profitt will arise.

I haue breefly acquaynted his Maiestie and the lordes with the busines and my poore opinion.[2] If I haue beene two busy I hope you wilbe mediators for mee, that haue erred out of blind zeale to doe my Country seruice. If any alterations happen, I will spend you some mony to aduise you overland, but not as others haue done. You will fynd a dear reckoning of Master Steeles employment; and, if I durst take such liberty, I could procure you Camells loades of *firmaens* to no purpose.

God in his Mercy giue blessing to all your endeuors, and though I doe you not that seruice you expect, yet your fauorable eyes shall perceaue I doe according to my abilitye faythfully; referring the resolution and conclusion to your better Judgments, knoweing yt is my dutie to enforme and propound and after to execute according to directions. So tyme and matter calls on me to end without Ceremony.

Ready to doe you seruice,
THO. ROE.

TO THE KING OF PERSIA.[3]

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 84.)

14 Feb. 1615 [-16].

Most magnificent and Highly descended Emperor,

The respect your Maiestie hath mutually borne and receiued from the King of England my Royall Master, whose Ambassador I vnwoorthely am to the Great King of India, hath encouraged me to send your Highnes these my poore aduises, not presuming to councell your Maiestie, but, in Honor of your most Royall vertues, not to be wanting to doe you any seruice.

I receiued lately your most Gratious Command to your Gouernor of Jasques to entertayne the trafique of our nation with frendship and amitye, for which in the name of my Master I render condigne thanckes. But with the same I fynd your Maiestie hath sent into Spayne to offer and contract for all your

[1] Up in the country.

[2] See *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 78 *et seq.* The letter to King James has not been reproduced, as it contains no fresh information.

[3] This was enclosed in a letter to William Robbins, who was asked to get it translated and present it to the Sháh on Roe's behalf.

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silkes and Comodytyes, with Instructions to giue leaue to fortefye, wheras your Maiestie had otherwise nobly purposed (as fame reported) to free your Gulph of Slauery and to keepe it open for all Nations (a resolution woorthy of your Greatnes); which if it be soe, then, notwithstanding your Maiesties Command, wee must eyther aske leaue of the Spaniard (which wee scorne) or else force our way by Armes, which will hynder the speedy vent of your silkes, seeing all trades only flourish by Peace. Therfore, if your Maiestie tye your selfe to the Portugall or Spaniard, it wilbe both as prejudiciall to your estate in future tyme as was the way of Turky, and far more dishonorable, for that hee will neuer thancke your Maiestie for that which hee thinkes necessitye or his owne witt procured, and, when he is in possession, he will vse it with such insolency as will not beseeme a Monarque to endure. Besides, if your Maiestie be perswaded you can make vse of him for a tyme and, when you are returned victorious ouer the Turke, you can turne him out at pleasure, your Maiestie may fynd the woorke more difficult then now you consider; the fortifications of Europe, where the sea is open and too frend, are not easely rased.

But if your Maiestie were pleased to Clear your Coast and the sea of that bondage it hath beene long in and be lord of your owne, erecting a free mart in some conuenient port vnder the Command of your ordinance, publishing to all Nations they should trade securely, and thither send all the silkes and comodytyes of your seueral kingdomes, your Maiestie should effect with Honor the dessigne of weakening your enemy the Turke, and be engaged to none, but all the world would seeke you, and your subjects should passe theyr goodes for mony or any other comodytye that eyther Europe or the East doth affoord. There would bee the English, Spanish, French, Venetian, and all that had meanes of shipping, envying one another and only raysing the Price, to your Maiesties profitt.

This I haue thought fitt to offer to your Maiesties Consideration, my respect commanding me to tell you that single councelles haue single force; which I submitt to your Maiesties Iudgment, hoping your Maiestie will so restrayne your Conditions with the Spaniard that your fauour to vs become not vselesse, and we enforced to trade with them by the bullett, as they haue vnprosperously giuen vs cause. Praying to the Creator of Heauen and earth to giue you victory on your Enemyes and renown in your life and Posterytye,

To doe your Maiestie seruice,

THO. ROE

Ambassador for his Maiestie of England.

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To the Earl of Southampton.[1]

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 88.)

Adsmere, 14 Feb., 1615 [-16].

My Lord,

Since my arriuall in this Country, I haue had but one Month of health and that mingled with many relapses, and am now your poor seruant scarce a Crowes dinner. . . .

I thought all India a China shop,[2] and that I should furnish all my Frendes with rarietyes; but this is not that part. Here are almost no Ciuill arts, but such as straggling Christians haue lately taught; only good Carpetts and fine lawne, all Comodityes of bulke, wherby I can make noe proffitt but publiquely; Muske, Amber, Cyuitt, diamondes, as deare as in England; no Pearle but taken for the King, who is invalewable in Jewelles.

But I not alone Cossened in this hope, but in the Kings liberallitye.[3] He alowes me nothing but a house of Mudd, which I was enforced to build halfe. . . . Yet though I liue in such a house, perhaps many wayes in more state, and with many more seruants then any Ambassador in Europe, such is the Custome here, to be Carryed in a bedd all richly furnished on mens backes vp and downe; though it needs not, for here are the finest horses that I euer sawe, of Gennett size and infinite store, besides guardes and footmen, of which only I keepe 24. But this my expected liberallitye fayling makes all tedious and loathsome; for though the King hath often sent to me, yet this bounty is only expressed in whyld hogges.

You expect no Ceremony, and I haue learnd none here, but I am euer, and will dye soe,

Your Lordshipes most affectionate seruant,
Tho. Roe.

Giue me leaue to present my humble seruice to my lady, my Lady Penelope,[4] my little lady Mistress, for whom I wilbe prouided with Presentes.

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[1] Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the friend of Essex, and (according to some critics) the "W. H." of Shakespeare's sonnets.

[2] A reference to the "China houses" (*Silent Woman*, 1, i) in London, where porcelain and other curiosities were sold.

[3] As is well known, it was the custom for an ambassador to be treated as the guest of the monarch to whom he was accredited, and Roe had therefore expected a handsome allowance. This he never obtained, though both his predecessor and the Persian ambassador received gifts of money from the Mogul.

[4] Lord Southampton's eldest daughter, wife of Sir William Spencer.

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February 19.—I went to repay the visitt of Hoja Nazon,[1] who entertayned me with very good respect, very good woordes, and very good meate.

February 21.—Having now long attended with Patience and found no effect in the Princes promises for a Command for Suratt, nor any answere resolute that I should haue none, Asaph Chan consenting that the Conditions demanded should be relinguished, I went to visitt the Prince at his sitting out; not knoweing whether this Jugling might bee without his knowledge (for I receiued his pleasure by others), or if it were his owne, yet I would once more proue him, aud dispute my owne cause, that if I were enforced to Complayne I might be fully blamlesse of any disrespect toward him. When I came nere, whether by the Princes command to proue if I would yeild, or by ignorance of his seruants of the liberty I had obteyned and vsed before, one of them stayed mee, and made signes that I should make the reuerence of the Country Called *Teselim*.[2] I rejected him with some mislike, and went on vntill I came to the assent of the inmost rayle right before the Prince, whom I saluted after my owne manner, and offering to goe vp, I was stoppd and showed a bye entrance, at which the meaner sorte Comes in. The Prince seeing all this, and not correcting yt, I turnd about to depart; wherat hee Called, and the way was open for mee to take and Choose my place. When I was entered I bad my interpreter tell the Prince I came thither in honor of him and

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Curiously enough, while Roe was penning this message, a letter was on its way to him from Lord Carew containing a rumour (happily false) that she was dead (*Carew Letters*, p. 22).

[1] See p. 124.

[2] "The salutation of *taslím* consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head: which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering" (*Aín-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's translation, i, 158).

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to visitt him, expecting that I should haue beene welcome, but the vsage of his seruantes made me doubt yt: that if my Comminge discontented him, I could with more ease keepe my house. He answered I was very welcome; wherat I made a reuerance, and one of his Principalles, not content with that, came and pulled me to make *Teselim*, whom I thrust from mee with open scorne; wherat the Prince smiled, and commanded to lett me vse my libertye. Then I presented him with a few toyes after the Custome, and demanded the *firmaen* long promised mee. He answered it was signed, and calld to know whye yt was deteyned. Soe presently it was sent for, and answered I had refused to firme the Conditions required by the Prince and sent with yt, wherat the Prince said it was there ready: If I would seale the one I should haue the other. I replyed: I would not; and gaue my reasons. Then hee fell off from that to Complaynts of the vnrulines of the English at Suratt, of their drincking and quarreling in the streets, and draweing swoordes in the Custome house. I answered: I knew not, nor could excuse it: only I knew the abuses offered them might prouoke some beyond reason and Patience: but that I hoped the rest was not true. Then hee calld for a lettre to showe mee witnessing yt. I demanded whose it was. He sayd the Gouernors. I answered then I would giue no Creditt to yt, for that he was a veryer drunckard then any English in Suratt, and for his vntruth he had often belyed the King and the Prince himselfe, as I would proue to his face when he came to answere. The Prince demanded why hee should write yt if yt were not true. I answered: to excuse, by accusing others, his owne villanous insolencyes: that if he had beene woorthy to haue Gouerned a Province, he should haue taken those who were so disorderly and haue punished them, and done Iustice to the honest and sober: but that hee made a pretence, for the fault of a drunckard, to abuse

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the Innocent. It was replyed that it was for my sake it was forborne. I answered: I renounced giuing protection to such as were vnwoorthy of yt:[1] I came to defend my Countrymen that were ciuill and honest in their rightfull causes, and was as desirous to punish outrages as to mayn-teyne sobryety: and for any priuat frendshipp or respect, to mee the Gouernor had vsed none, nor I was other to him then a professed enemy. Wheratt the Prince asked if I would writte to Suratt to restraine the abuses and drunckennes of our People, and if no warning of myne could preuayle, if I would not be displeased, that punishment might be inflicted on those taken in the offence. This motion sauored so much reason I could not refuse it; only I putt in this Caution, that, as I consented to punish the notorious offender, so the honest and sober might haue protection and Iustice; and on this Condition I promised to writt. He demanded when, for he would send the lettre post to prevent more disorders and Complaynts. I answered: to morow. And so this discourse ended. The Prince converting him selfe to some others, I called to him to know his resolute answer for the *firmaen*, for that was my Principall errand, which if hee refused mee, I knewe my wayes. He replyed: for the busines of the Portugall he was satisfied: that he would send it to Asaph Chan, and what hee liked should Content him; and desiered me to require on the Morrowe an answer from him, and withall called for yt and deliuered it to a gentellman to carry it presently with that Command, that if he liked it, it should be deliuered to mee.

This night the king sent mee a mighty Elke kylld in hunting, reasonable ranck meate.

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[1] Cp. p. 52. This was rather a dangerous doctrine, for the English attached importance to the exclusive right of punishing the evil-doings of their countrymen, and later on this was one of the privileges contended for by the ambassador.

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February 22.—I sent according to my promise a lettre for Suratt, the Coppy wherof is registred.[1]

February 23-26.—I sent dayly to Asaph Chan; but he was sicke and I could haue no answere.

February 27.—The King and Prince went a hunting Journy 12 *Course* off, that his house might be fitted against the *Norose*,[2] which began the first Newe moone in March.

Marche 1.—I rodde to see a house of pleasure of the Kings, giuen him by Asaph Chan,[3] two miles from Adsmere, but betweene two mighty rockes so defended from the sunn that it scarce any way sees it; the foundation Cutt out of them and some roomes, the rest of freestone; a handsome little garden with fine fountaynes; two great tanckes, one 30 stepes aboue a nother; the way to it inaccessable, but for one or two in front, and that very steepe and stony; a place of much melancholy delight and securitye, only beeing accompanyed with wild Peacockes, turtles, foule, and Munkyes, that inhabitt the rocks hanging euery way ouer yt.

March 2.—I receued answere from Asaph Chan resolute that hee had sent to the Prince, and could not obteyne no order for the deliuery of the *firmaen*, without I would signe the Articles. The Jesuite had much Poysoned Asaph Chan, in whom was the fault, and I resolued to startle him.

March 4.—I wrote a lettre to the Prince as round and peremptory as was the refusall made mee, and sent it after where he was in progresse. The Coppy is registred.

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[1] At f. 90 of the MS.

[2] See p. 142.

[3] Now called the *Núr chasma*, at the back of the Táragarh hill. The fountains and tanks are in a ruinous condition, and the place can only be reached with difficulty (*Rajputana Gazetteer*, ii, p. 123).

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To Sultan Caronne.

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 91.)

4th March, 1615 [-16].

Most Noble Prince,

It seemes to mee that your Highnes is weary of the English at Suratt, or else you would not refuse to deliuer me a *firmaen* for their saftye and good vsage, but vpon dishonorable Conditions and such as I cannot answer. Therfore I desire your highnes to giue me a Playne answer, which I require in the Name of the King of England, beinge a Frend and Confederatt of your Most Royall father. For, if your Highnes be resolued that they shall haue noe better justice then they haue had, my Master is likewise resolued not to haue his subjects liue where they shalbe Iniured, but we will seeke some other residence, wher wee shalbe better wellcome. For the losses and Injuries suffered by your last Gouernor, your Princly woord is already past for satisfaction. In all which, without your Highnes ayde, I shalbe enforced to Complayne to the King, for which I am sorry. I hope you will excuse my bouldnes, because I doe performe but my dutie. And soe I Committ your highnes to God.

The English Ambassador.

March 5.—Mochrebchan, gouernor in the kings absence, and Haja Nassan, with some others, came of their owne accord to visitt mee, having sent woord that they would dine with mee. I entertained them as I was able, to theyr Content, but kept as much State in myne owne house as was vsed towardes me by others;[1] but wee exchanged many complements, Mochrebchan excusing himselfe of all thinges past, professing he knewe not the English, but that now he was theyr seruant. So wee parted very good frendes; and I gaue him at his goeing six glasses guilt.

March 6.—The Prince sent his principall officer to

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[1] From Terry's account (p. 211) we get a glimpse of Roe's household arrangements. "My Lord Ambassador (he says) observed not that uneasy way [*i.e.*, the native fashion] of sitting at his meat, but in his own house had Tables and Chayres &c. Served he was altogether in Plate and had an English and an Indian cook to dress his dyet, which was very plentifull and cheap likewise; so that by reason of the great variety of provisions there, his weekly account for his housekeeping came but to little."

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Adsmere to giue me Content, fearing I would Complaine, which hee desiered mee to forbeare and that I should haue satisfaction in my desiers, Iustice for what was passed, and amendes in the future. Soe hee propounded three other articles to me, leauing out that of the Portugall, and sent them in Persian desiring mee to signe those to his Master and I should haue the *firmaen* deliuered vpon receipt of yt. When I had gott them translated, though in substance there was nothing which I might not assent vnto, they beeing rather friuolous then dangerous for mee or materiall for the Prince, yet in the woording and forme ther was somthing I misliked, wherin they might if they had so much cunning by hard construction bynd mee to some inconvenience, and restraine the merchants of full liberty. Therfore I drew them anew according to my owne mynd, altering those clauses and reseruing the substances, and, to avoyd more messages too and fro, I sealed them, and sent them with this answere, that the Articles propounded to mee were suspitiously expressed: that I only had made them playne and keept the substance; which I had there signed and sent, wherof if he would accept, I desired the *firmaen*, and that resolutely: I would loose no more tyme in treatyes nor firme any other. Both he and Asaph Chan read them, and answered they liked them well: that the Alterations were not prejudiciall to their meaning; and soe deliuered the *firmaen*, which that night I gott translated, that I might know what I had laboured for. This day I sent the secretary a present, but it is not his Custome to receiue any thing.

March 7.—I found the *firmaen* very effectually reapeating my Complaynts, mentioning the Injuryes in particular, and Commanding all manner of redresse; but in the end a Conditionall clause poysoninge all the rest, that which I had so often refused, that the Portugalles should haue free liberty to Come to Suratt at his Pleasure, and that wee

should not molest them, take their goodes nor persons, without any promise or intimation that they should not offend nor assayle vs. Now to grant them peace in a roade of another Prince wher they are equally licenced with vs may seeme reasonable; but I knew the purpose of the Portugall and the Instrument of this deuice, and that the Prince was abused and sawe not the disadvantage. First, if they had liberty to trade, they would use yt only to hynder ours; secondly, they would lye with 100 frigatts, vnder colour of this Peace, and take the first advantage to fier or assault our fleete, which is not to be avoyded, if they obteyne this liberty to mingle amonge vs; lastly, though the Prince explaynd him selfe in woordes that he ment we should not molest them except they begann the quarrell and in our owne defence, yet when a mischeefe had beefallen vs too late, of whom should wee haue sought satisfaction? The Prince had not undertaken; the Viceroy had not signed any instrument of Peace; only an Italian poore Iesuite had enformed the Prince the Portugall would be quiett—a braue securitye. Besides the folly and dishonnor, to appeare so eager of a peace, as if wee feard them, as to take it on any weake base or rather on no conditions. These considerations enforced me to refuse and send it backe: desiering to haue that clause strooke out, or else the fraud was euident, and I would neuer accept of yt. A day was demanded to giue answer.

March 8.—I sent for a resolution, and receiued yt: that that clause must remayne or I should not haue none. I gaue order, Suspecting the tricke, to redemand the articles signed by mee; but could not gett them, nor was the matter great, but for forme sake, and alsoe to pronounce as well my resolution, that I mente neuer to seeke farther after yt, neuer to aceept yt, or any other, on ill Conditions: that I knew my way to seeke assured remedye: that I was sorry I had so long forborne yt.

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March 9.—The King being returnd, the Preparation foı the *Norose* made all men soe busy that I had no oportunyte to doe myne, but purposed to prepare the King by Visitations and presents to heare my demandes with the first oportunitye. But I had no enterpreter, The brokar not daring to speake any thing that would displease Asaph Chan, nor would hee in any thing deliuer mee truly to the King. Soe I sought out a third [second?], an Italian Jeweller, a protestant, that vseth much liberty with his toung, and in whom the King takes often delight to heare him rayle at the Jesuites and theyr factions;[1] who vndertook to say all I would deliuer him.

March 10.—This day arriued our Cloth and goodes to Adsmere, having beene long on the way, to the great preiudice in the sale.

March 11.—The *Norose*[2] begann in the Eueninge. It is a custome of solemnizing the new yeare, yet the Ceremonye beginnes the first New moone after it, which this yeare fell togeither. It is kept in Imitation of the Persians feast and signifyes in that language nine dayes, for that anciently it endurd no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner is: ther is erected a Throne fower foote from the ground, in the *Durbar* Court, from the back wherof to the

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[1] This Italian was known as John Veronese. For his services as interpreter he received a knife and a bottle of strong waters (Roe's accounts). Later, he angered Roe by abetting the runaway Jones; and shortly after he was dismissed from the king's service and ordered out of the country.

[2] The *Nau-róz*, "New (Year's) Day," a feast instituted by Akbar in imitation of the Persians. "It commences on the day when the Sun in his splendour moves to Aries, and lasts till the 19th day of the month. Two days of this period are considered great festivals, when much money and numerous other things are given away as presents: the first day of the month of *Farwardín* and the 19th, which is the time of the *Sharaf*" (*Áín-i-Akbari*, i, 276).

Terry and Mandelslo follow Roe in his mistake as to the meaning of the term. The error is corrected in Thevenot.

The account which follows should be compared with the descriptions in Hawkins' narrative (p. 439), and in Mandelslo's *Travels* (second English edition, p. 41).

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place wher the King comes out, a square of 56 Paces long and 43 broad was rayled in, and couered ouer with faire Semianes or Canopyes of cloth of gould, silke, or veluett, Ioyned together and susteyned with Canes so couered. At the vpper end were sett out the pictures of the King of England, the Queene, my lady Elizabeth, the Countesse[s] of Sommersett[1] and Salisbury,[2] and of a Cittizens wife of London; below them another of Sir Thomas Smyth,[3] gouernor of the East India company. Vnder foote it is layd with good Persian Carpetts of great lardgnes. Into which place come all the men of qualetye to attend the King, except some fewe that are within a little rayle right before the Throne to receiue his Commandes. Within this square there were sett out for showe many little howses (one of siluer) and some other Curiosityes of Price. The Prince Sultan Coronne had at the lefte syde a Pauilion, the supporters wherof were Couered with Siluer (as were some of those also neare the Kings throne). The forme therof was Square; the matter wood, inlayd with mother of pearle, borne vp with fower pillars and Couered with Cloth of gould about the edge. Ouerhead, like a valence, was a nett fringe of good pearle, vpon which hung downe Pomegranetts, apples, peares, and such fruicts of gould, but hollow. Within yt the king sate on Cushions very rich in Pearles and Jewells. Round about the Court before

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[1] The notorious Frances Howard, the divorced wife of the Earl of Essex, lately married to James's favourite, Lord Somerset, on which occasion the East India Company presented a piece of plate. At the time her portrait was decking the Mogul's feast, she and her husband were awaiting their trial for murdering Sir Thomas Overbury.

[2] Her elder sister, Catherine, who had married Robert Cecil's only son, William.

[3] This had been brought out by Edwards, who wrote to Smythe that the Court painters had confessed their inability to imitate it, and that consequently it was much prized by the Mogul (*O.C.*, No. 219).

There is a painting at Skinners' Hall which is held to be a portrait of Sir Thomas Smythe. If this be really so, it is possible that the picture sent to the Mogul was a copy of it.

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the Throne the Principall men had erected tents, which encompassed the Court, and lined them with veluett, damask and taffety ordinaryly, some few with Cloth of gould, wherin they retyred and sett to show all theyr wealth; for anciently the kings were vsed to goe to euery tent and there take what pleased them, but now it is Changed, the King sitting to receiue what new years guifts are brought to him. He comes abroad at the vsuall hower of the *Durbar*, and retyres with the same. Here are offered to him, by all sorts, great guiftes, though not equall to report, yet incredible enough; and at the end of this feast the King, in recompence of the presents receiued, aduanceth some and addeth to theyr entertaynment some horse at his pleasure.

March 12.—I went to visitt the King and was brought right before him, expecting a present, which I deliuered to his extraordinary content.[1] So he appoynted I should bee directed within the rayle, to stand by him, but I, beeing

[1] A purse which cost in England 24*s*., containing "a little box of Cristall, made by arte like a rubie, and cutt into the stone in Curious workes, which was all inameld and inlayd with fine gould. Soe rare a peece was neuer seene in India, as can wittnes all your seruantes resident at Adsmere. I can sett noe price, because it was geuen me; but I could haue sould it for a thousand Rupees, and was enformed that had it been knowne how highlye the King esteemed it, I mought haue had 5000 Rupees. The King the same night sent for all the Christians, and others his owne subjectes, artificers in gould and stone, to demand if euer they sawe such woorke or howe it could be wrought; who Generallie Confessed they neuer sawe such arte, nor could tell how to goe about it, whereat the King sent me woord he esteemed it aboue a diamonde geuen him that day of 6000*li*. price . . . . Within the boxe (which I presented to Keepe the Jewelles in which others gaue him) I putt a Chain of gould of double linckes veary small, wheratt was hanged a whyte Emrald Cutt in the forme of a seale, and therein engraued, no bigger then a Penny, a Cupid drawing his bowe, with this Motto *Guardes:* being a curiositie not easilie matched, and esteemed by the King for excellent woorke. The stone was vnsett, pendent and veary lardge, aboue halfe an Inch in length. The gould wayed 46*s*. . . . . There being noe man in London, much less here, that can enamell vpon stone, and therfore I knowe not what it [the box] Coste; and the seale stone vncutt, I bought in the West Indies, and had it pollished and carued in London; it Cost noe great matter rough."—Roe's Accounts (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 277).

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not suffered to step vp vpon the rising on which the throne stood, could see little, the rayle beeing high and doubled with Carpettes. But I had leysure to veiw the inward roome and the bewty therof, which I confesse was rich, but of so diuers peices and so vnsuteable that it was rather patched then glorious, as if it seemed to striue to show all, like a ladie that with her plate sett on a Cupboord her imbrodered slippers. This eueninge was the sonne of Ranna, his New tributory,[1] brought before him, with much ceremony, kneeling 3 tymes and knocking his head on the ground. He was sent by his father with a Present and was brought within the little rayle, the King embracing him by the head. His guift was an Indian voyder[2] full of siluer, vpon yt a Carued siluer dish full of gould. Soe he was ledd toward the Prince. Some Eliphants were showed, and some whoores[3] did sing and dance. *Sic transit Gloria Mundi.*

March 13.—At night I went to the *Gussel chan*, wher is best oportunitye to doe busines, and tooke with mee the Italyan,[4] determining to walke no longer in darknes but to proue the king, beeing in all other wayes delayed and refused. I was sent for in with my ould Brokar but my enterpreter was kept out, Asaph Chan mistrusting I would vtter more then he was willing to heare. When I came to the king, he appoynted me a place to stand Iust before him, and sent to aske me many questions aboute the king of England and of the present I gaue the day before; to some of which I answered, but at last I sayd my enterpreter was keept out: I could speake no Portugall, and soe wanted means to satisfie his Maiestie. Whereat (much against Asaph Chans desire) he was admitted. I bad him

[1] Karan, eldest son of Umra Sing, Rana of Udaipur (see p. 102).

[2] "*Voiders*, great broad dishes, to carry away the remains from a meat-table" (*Dunton's Ladies' Dictionary*, 1694).

[3] Nautch-girls.

[4] See p. 142.

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tell the king I desired to speake to him. He answered: willingly. Wherat Asaph Chans sonne-in-law pulld him[1] by force away and that faction hedgd the king so that I could scarce see him nor the other approach him. So I commanded the Italian to speake alowd that I Craued audience of the king, wherat the king Called me and they made me way. Asaph Chan stood on one side of my interpreter and I on the other; I to enforme him in myne owne cause, he to awe him with wincking and Iogging. I bad him say that I had now beene here two monthes, wherof more then one was passed in sicknes, the other in Complements, and nothing effected toward the end for which my Master had employed mee, which was to Conclude a firme and Constant loue and Peace betweene their Majesties and to establish a fayre and secure trade and residence for my Countrymen. He answered that was already granted. I replyed it was true, but it depended yet on so slight a thredd, on so weake Conditions: that beeing of such importance it required an agreement cleare in all poynts, and a more formall and Authentique confirmation then it had by ordinarie *firmaens*, which were temporarye Commandes and respected accordingly. He Asked mee what presents wee would bring him. I answered the leauge was yet new and very weake: that many Curiosityes were to be found in our Country of rare price and estimation, which the king would send and the Merchannts seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiett trade and protection on honorable Conditions, having beene heeretofore many wayes wronged. He asked what kynd of Curiosityes those were I mentioned, whether I ment Iewells and rich stones. I answered no: that we did not thinck them fitt presents to send back, which were brought first from these

[1] The interpreter.

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parts, wherof hee was Cheefe lord: that wee esteemed them Common here and of much more price with vs: but that we sought to fynd such things for his Maiestie as were rare here and vnseene, as excellent artifices in Paynting, caruing, Cutting, enamelling, figures in brasse, copper, or stone, rich embroderyes, stuffs of gould and siluer. He sayd it was very well: but that hee desiered an English horse. I answered it was impossible by sea, and by land the Turke would not suffer passadge. He replyed that hee thought it not impossible by sea. I tould him the dangers of stormes and varietye of weather would proue yt. He answered: if six were putt into a shipp one might liue, and though it Came leane he would fatt yt. I replyed I was Confident it Could not bee in soe long a voyadge, but that for his Maiesties satisfaction I would write to aduise of his request. So he asked what was it then I demanded. I sayd: that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable Conditions which I had Conceiued for the Confirmation of the leauge and for the securitye of our Nation and their quiett trade, for that they had beene often wronged and Could not Continue on such termes: which I forbeare to Complayne off, hoping by faire means to procure amendment. At this woord Asaph Chan offered to pull my interpreter, but I held him, suffering him only to wincke and make vnprofitable signes. The King hereatt grew suddenly into Choler, pressing to know who had wronged vs, with such show of fury that I was loath to follow yt; and speaking in broken spanish to my interpreter to answere that with what was past, I would not trouble his Maiestie but would seeke Iustice of his sonne the Prince, of whose fauour I doubted not, the King, not attending my interpreter but hearing his sonnes name, conceiued I had accused him, saying *mio filio, mio filio*, and Called for him; who came in great feare, humbling himselfe. Asaph Chan trembled, and all of them were amazd.

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The King chidd the Prince roundly, and hee excused himselfe; but I, perceiuinge the Kings error, made him (by means of a Persian Prince[1] offering himselfe to enterprett, because my Italian spoke better Turkish then Persian; the Prince both) vnderstand the mistaking, and so appeased him, saying I did no way accuse the Prince, but would in causes past in his Gouerment appeale to him for Iustice; which the King Commanded he should doe effectually. The Prince for his Iustification tould the king he had offered me a *firmaen*, and that I had refused yt. Demanding the reason, I answered: I humbly thancked him, but hee knew it Conteyned a condition which I could not accept off, and that farther I did desire to propound our owne demandes, wherin I would Conteyne all the desires of my Master at once, that I might not daylye trouble them with Complaynts; and wherin I would reciprocally bynd my souerayne to mutuall offices of frendship, and his subjects to any such Conditions as his Maiestie would reasonably propound, wherof I would make an offer; which beeing drawne tripertite, his Maiestie I hoped would signe the one, the Prince the other, and in my Masters behalfe I would firme the third. The king pressed to know the Conditions I refused in the Princes *firmaen*, which I recited; and soe wee fell into earnest dispute, and some heate. Mocrebchan enterposing sayd hee was the Portugalles aduocate, speaking slightly of vs, that the king should neuer signe any article against them. I answered: I propound none against them, but in our owne Iust defence, and I did not take him for such a frend to them. The Iesuite and all the Portugalles side fell in, in soe much that I explayned myselfe fully concerning them; and as I offered a Conditionall Peace, so I sett their

[1] "Meermera, a Persian nobleman nere of bloud to the Sophy and lately fledd vpon the death of the Prince for safety to this court" (Roe's accounts).

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frendship at a mean rate and their hatered or force at lesse. The king answered my demandes were Iust, resolution noble, and bad me propound. Asaph Chan, that stood Mute all this discourse, and desiered to end it, least it breake out againe (for wee wear very warme), enterposed that if wee talked all night it would come to this issue: that I should drawe my demandes in writting and present them, and if they were found reasonable the king would firme them; to which the king replyed yes, and I desiered his sonne would doe the like, who answered hee would. Soe the king rose. But I calling to him he turnd about, and I bad my enterpreter say that I came the day before to see his Maiestie and his greatnes and the Ceremonyes of this feast: that I was placed behynd him, I confesed with honor, but I could not see abroad, and that therfore I desired his Maiestie to lycence me to stand vp by his Throne; wherat hee Commanded Asaph Chan to lett me choose my owne place.

March 14.—In the Morning I sent a Messenger to Asaph Chan, least he or the Prince mought mistake mee by the Kings mistakings that I had complayned against them; which as I did not, so it was not yet in my purpose; only I was willing to lett them see I did not so depend on Asaph Chan, by whose mouth I vsed to doe my busines, but that if he continued his manner of neuer deliuering what I sayd, but what he pleasd, I could fynd another way. My message was to cleare any such doubt if it remaynd, or if not, to entreat him that he would soften the Prince in my demandes concerning Suratt. He answered neyther the Prince nor he had any reason to suspect my purpose was to Complayne of them: that the error was euident enough: for his part he had euer had the loue of the English and would endeauour to continew yt.

March 15.—The king sent me a tame sheepe new shorne with his owne hand, so fatt that it had not leane to

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eate halfe. At Euening I went to the *Norose* and demanded of Asaph Chan a place. Hee bad me Choose; so I went within the rayle, and stood on the right hand of the kynge upon the rising of the Throne; the Prince and young Ranna on the other syde. So that I sawe what was to be seene, Presents, Elephants, horses, and many whoores.

March 16-22.—I prepared my demandes perfect and in the Persian Toong. My course was by way of articles, to make prouision for our securitye and Peace and to preuent all such abuses as the former yeare had giuen me experience of; that I might doe all at once and not trouble the king with new motions and Complaynts. I proiected to haue diuers Coppies signed togither and to send two to euery factory, one to be proclaymed and after sett up in some Publique place, the other for the merchants for dayly vse.

March 23.—The king Condemned a Mogull on suspition of felony, and beeing loth to execute him, both in regard of his person, the goodliest man I euer saw in Indya, and that the euidence were not cleere, hee sent him to mee by the Officers in Irons for a Slaue, or to dispose of him at my pleasure. This is esteemed a high fauour, for which I returnd thancks: that in England we had no slaues, neyther was it lawfull to make the Image of God fellow to a Beast: but that I would vse him as a seruant, and if his good behauiour merited yt, would giue him libertye. This his Maiestie tooke in very good part.

1616, *March* 26.—I went to the *Gusell Channe;* and deliuering the king a present of picturs I offered vp my Articles to his Maiesties Consideration. Asaph Chan tooke & opened them, and finding them somwhat long he found fault, to which I answered they were no longer then the many late abuses required, which I thinck made him doubt they Conteyned Complaynts; so, showing them the

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king, they were referrd to him, with promise if they stood with his honor they should be sealed, and I should expect my answer from Asaph Chan. He stept to the Prince and togither reading one or two, finding they were not accusations, he came to mee and promised mee all fauour; only hee stuck at the length. But here fell a Crosse. I keeping the Place which I first tooke, alone and out of ranck which the kings subjects obserue, a place dessigned mee by the king, the place giuen to Sir Robert Sheirly, and indeed aboue all his subjectes, Asaph Chan sent mee a message to goe downe and stand by the doore among the kings seruants. I answered: if the king Commanded, I knew what I had to doe, but to stirr for any other I would not. He sent againe that it was not the Custome for any to stand alone: that I should goe backe in the ranck of noble men. I replyed: I was a stranger and ignorant of their Customes, but I was not ignorant that I was a kings Ambassador, and not of the qualety of seruants; that his maiestie had placed mee and saw mee now: if I did amisse hee was fittest to find faulte: if it were his pleasure I should goe home, I was ready, but one foote back I would not: and that I expected from him rather additions of grace then discurtesies. Then hee sent an Officer to Fright mee, but I went so much higher and nearer the king; and standing awhile without molestation, alone and euery bodyes eyes cast vpon mee, I saw placê wherin stood only the Prince and young Ranna by the king, to which I went, resoluinge, if I must rancke, I would rancke with the best. This angred Asaph Chan woorse, who euer sought to woorke me to the humilitye of my predecessors, and to an absolute dependance and obedience on his will. So that, stepping to the Prince, he desiered him to Complayne of mee, as of a great insolency to approach him, which hee did willingly. The king asked why I went from my first place. Asaph Chan

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replyed that hee had sent to mee to take ranck with the noble men, and made mee moue. The king answered: then hee hath done well; what had any man to doe to displace him? Was it not in my sight? What harme does hee? Hee comes to see me; and with such reprehension Commanding them to lett me vse my discretion. Soe I stood in Peace, but with Asaph Chans displeasure.

The Coppie of my Demands follow.[1]

Articles of Amitye, Commerce, and Entercourse, betweene the two most high and Mighty Kings, The great Mogull, King of India, and the King of Great Brittane, France, and Ireland, Concluded on by the said great Mogull on his part, and in the behalfe of the King of great Brittane by Sir Thomas Roe, knight, his Ambassador for that purpose authorised.

1 First, it is Concluded on both parts that ther shalbe a good and perfect loue, leauge, and peace to endure for euer betwixt the said mighty Princes, their subjects, and dominions.

2 Secondly, it is concluded and agreed vnto by the said high and Mighty King of India on his part, which by this writting he doth promise and to all the world declare, That the subjects of the most renowned King of Great Brittane shall come freely without any prohibition to any of the Ports or hauens in the Dominions of the said King of India, as well in Bengala and Syndu as in the lordship of Suratt, with their shipes and other vessells, and so arriued may quietly, safely, and peaceably land theyr goodes, and for their mony shall haue liberty to hire a Convenient house, wherein they may remayne, freely to sell, buy, or otherwise transport their goodes into the Mayne at their pleasure.

3 Theirdly, it is Concluded, that when any shipes of the said English shall arriue at any Port, the Gouernor of the Place or cheefe Cytty adjoyning shall publish 3 seuerall days this agreement, to the end that all men may freely sell at the shore any prouision of victualls and releefe and may alsoe goe aboord the shipes, trade and buy at their pleasurs, and may freely furnish the said english at the ordinary rates of the kings subjectes with boates, cartes, and other prouisions of Carriadge at their pleasurs without any prohibition, as well at the sea syde as at the rivers, in which the English haue lately susteyned great losse.

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[1] There is a copy of this document in Pepwell's Letter-book, preserved among the I.O. Records. It presents no material difference.

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4 Fowerthly, it is agreed that the persons of English Merchants nor theyr seruants shall not be searched, nor dispightfully vsed, but that Comminge to the *Alfandica* they shall show what necessaryes they bring with them and what mony for expence, which shalbe free vnto them from any violence or force of the Gouernor or other Officers, and free of any Custome, soe that it exceed not 10 rialls of Eight[1] in goodes or mony.

5 Fiftly, it is Agred that what presents soeuer are sent by the most Mighty King of great Brittayne, or the Company of Merchantes, vnto the said great King of India, or for any such vse, shall not be touched, opened, nor meddled with by the Gouernor or any officer what soeuer; but only beeing marked with their seale shalbe deliuered without delay to be sent to Court vnto the English Embassador or Agent there resident, that hee may according to directions deliuer them vnto the said Mighty King, wherin the English haue beene heretofore much wronged.

6 Sixtly, it is Concluded that the goodes of the said English Merchantes landed at any Port within the dominnions of the King of India shalbe dispeeded to their howse without lett or hinderance and shall not be stayed on any pretence aboue one day and Night in the *Alfandica*, to take notice of the Number and markes, and soe shall be ther sealed and within 6 dayes after opened and rated at the house of the said Merchants by the officers of the said Custome, at reasonable prices and not exacted vpon as heretofore.

7 Seuenthly, it is agreed that no Gouernor nor any other officer shall presume to take by force any trifles from poore priuat men at their pleasures, but shall suffer them to make price of their owne, and soe paye for yt. Neyther shall the Gouernor, nor any other officer, by force and without the Consent of the Merchantes take into his house or Custody any of the goodes so landed, under pretence of seruinge the King, nor for his owne vse vntill such prises and dayes of payment be agreed on as shall giue content to both sides.

8 Eightly, it is concluded that for any goodes so landed and agreed for, having dischardged the duties of the Port, the said English shall haue free liberty to sell to any person, wherin the Gouernor shall not hinder them, nor force them to agree at his price; or otherwise it shalbe lawful to Convoy and send them to any other their factory without any hinderance or other dutie required in any Place as they shall passe, the duty of the Port beeing dischardged, wherof the Iudg of the *Alfandica* shall giue certificatt.

9 Ninthly, it is agreed that what goodes soeuer the English shall buy in any part of the dominions of the said Mighty King of India shall passe safely and freely toward their Port without any

[1] The rial of eight was worth about 4*s*. 6*d*. in English money.

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enterruption or force or exaction of Convoyes, other then such as themselues shall thinck requisitt, or requiring any Custome or duty on the way vntill they arriue at their Port; wher it shalbe lawfull for them, paying the duties of the Port only, according to agreement, to ship theyr said goodes without the hinderance or delay of any whatsoeuer.

10 Tenthly, it is concluded that what goodes soeuer shalbe soe brought downe to any Port, shall not be agayne opened by the Officers of the Port, the English showeing a Certificat from the Gouernors and officers where the said goodes were bought, of the Numbers, qualeties, and Conditions of the said goodes.

11 Eleuenthly, it is concluded if any of the said English shall dye in any part of these dominions, ther shalbe no confiscation of any mony or goodes in his Custodye, but both those and all other debts shall remayne to the factors suruiving, and if all the said factors shall happen to dye, in any of their residences, The Officer of the Towne shall take notice vpon register of all such Monyes, goodes, bookes, bills, and Papers as shalbe found in their house; which beeing sealed vp shalbe deliuered to the English at their request.

12 Twelftly, it is agreed that no Custome be exacted for victualls during the abode of the shipes at any port.

13 Thertine, it is agreed that the seruants of the said English shall not be punished, beaten, nor Misused for doeing but their duties, whether they be English or Indians, wherby they haue not dared to speake when they haue beene Commanded.

14 Lastly, it is Concluded that in the breach of any of these Articles & conclusions by any Gouernor or Officer, and vpon any other Iust occasion, The most mighty King wilbe pleased to giue his seuerall *firmanes* for speedy Iustice and redresse in all such Iniuryes; and vpon neglect therof, to giue condigne punishment to the offenders. And alsoe to *Chop* diuers Coppyes of this agreement, to be sent by the English Ambassador as well to the King of Great Brittaine for his full assurance of the Amitye and leauge concluded, as into diuers parts of the dominions of the said Mighty King of India to the end that all his officers may without excuse take notice of his Command.

It is farther agreed and concluded by the sayd Ambassador, on the behalfe of the most mighty King of Great Brittaine, that all the shippes and forces of the said English arriuing in any Port or Coast of the dominions of the said great Mogull shall suffer all Merchanntes to passe and repasse quietly with their shipes and goodes in Peace, except the enemyes of the said English, or any other that shall seeke to injure them; and that all the factors of the English residing in any Citty vpon the land shall behaue themselues peaceably and Ciuilly like Merchantes without offering wrong to any person what soeuer.

Secondly, it is agreed that they shall bring and furnish the said

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mighty King with all the rarietyes yearly that they can find and with any other goodes or furniture of warr which the said King shall reasonablie desire at indifferent[1] Prices, and that they shall not conceale any rarietyes or goodes whatsoeuer (the presents only excepted) but shall make offer to the Gouernors of the Ports wher they ariue, for the vse of the said King, for which the Gouernor shall agree for the Price and pay for them to theyre Content. And if it shall happen that such Prices cannot be agreed vpon, that then the Gouernor shall not take them by force, but shall sett his *Chop* vpon them, and so deliuer them to the factors, to be transported to the Court, wher they shalbe showed the said King, and agreed for by the factors there resident. But if the said goodes appertaine to any priuat man, that is to depart with the said shipes, then the said Gouernor shall pay for them at the deliuery, or otherwise restore them to the owner.

Therdly, it is Concluded that the said English shall pay the Custome agreed on at the Porte, to say, 3 per Cento and ½ for goodes reasonably rated, and 2 per Cento for Rialls of eight[2]; for which vpon Certifficate they shall pay no other Custome in any towne wher they shall passe their said goodes.

Fowerthly, it is agreed that the said English shall in all things be ready to pleasure and assist the said mighty King and his subjectes against any Enemy to the Common Peace, as it becomes the subiects of Kings mutually in leauge and Confederacy one with another.

Fynally, wheras the Portugalls haue, Contrary to the lawe of Nations, sought by seuerall assaults to Molest the quiett trade of the said English, and haue declared themselues theyre Enemies and to keepe in Subjection the Subjects of the said great King of India, Notwithstanding the said Mighty King of great Brittaine, beeing a Frend to Peace and Iustice, hath giuen Commission to his said Ambassador to Conclude and Comprehend the said Portugalles in the said Peace and frendshipe, to the end that trade and Commerce might be open and free to all Nations, to the great honor, security and proffitt of the said great King of India, and his subjects, wherof he the said Ambassador by his lettres to the viceroy of Goa hath made offer, and the said Embassador doth farther promise that if, by the means of the said great King or Prince, the said Viceroy (having showed good authoritye from the King of Portugall) will in the space of six Monthes enter into the said Peace and leauge, he wilbe reddy to accept therof; and in Case of Refusall it shalbe lawfull for the said English on the

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[1] Impartial, just; cp. the petition in the English church liturgy for the *indifferent* administration of justice.

[2] These were the usual rates at Surat (both for imports and exports) for foreigners' goods. Natives paid only 2½ per cent. (I O. Records: *Surat Letter-book*, 1616-17, f. 50, and Elkington's Note-Book).

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seas as well to Chastice the stubbornes of an obstinat enemie to Peace, as alsoe to requite any robberyes made by them, in taking any of their shippes, boates, or goodes, without any offence to the said great King of India.

To all which Articles and Conclusions all the foresaid Mighty Princes haue sett their *Chopes* and doe promise faythfull performance on all Partes on their Royall woordes.

March 27-31.—I attended Asaph Channs answere, but could not obteyne yt.

The king was feasted at Asaph Channs house, Normall, the Prince and many attending. From the kings house to his were veluetts and silkes sowed and layd vnderfoote an english mile, but rouled vp as the king passed; much talked of, but most ridiculously. They reported the feast and present cost 6 *lecks* of *rupias*, which is starling 60,000*li.*; the particulars [*blank in MS.*]

April 1.—The king went ahunting. At his returne he sent me two willd hogges by a gentellman: that they were kylld by his owne hand, and many fauorable complements; which gladded mee, that his Maiestie I perceiued was not incensed against mee.

April 3.—I receiued answer from Asaph chan that my demandes were vnreasonable and Could not be signed, without mention in what Clause or part. This I tooke but as a braue, knoweing the king had not seene them, or else to drawe a bribe, to which, eauen to base and sordidnes, he is most open. So I resolued to trye by faire meanes, and if there were noe remedie to appeale to the king for a more indifferent Iudge.

April 4.—I sent Asaph Chan a lettre expostulating some vnkindnesses and the particulars which he misliked in the Articles: offering all tearmes of frendship, if I might haue yt on free Conditions. The Coppy is registred.[1]

April 5.—I receiued answer that he had euer beene a

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[1] At f. 93 of the MS. It is sufficiently summarised in the text.

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frend to the English, and would so continew to mee if I would follow his councell: that Mocrebchan and others desired that wee should be banished, but that hee withstood yt; excusing himselfe for sending to mee to take another place, that hee knew not the Customes of England; of the articles not one woord. At night I receiued lettres from Suratt with the particulars soe long desired of the Gouernors publique and priuat abuses, which were soe intollerable that neuer any Christians endured the like from open enemyes. Though these came somwhat late, Zulphekcarcon beeing arriued at Court and with our goodes extorted by force made his Peace, much to my prejudice who had threatned him before his Comminge and now was silent for want of them, yet I resolued to prosecuute my course, but as warely as I could, taking occasion vpon Asaph Chans answere to pretend that I had forborne complayning for respect to the Prince and attended to doe nothing without his aduise, which by lettre I requird.

April 7.—I wrote to Asaph Chan about Zulphekcarcon and the abuses of Suratt,[1] sending in Persian a generall complaynt of the personall Injuryes to the English and their goodes and with yt three particulars: one of the Companyes goodes taken by force from the factors, and of the robberies of priuat men, of his bribes and extortion; the second, of the goodes yet remayning in the Custome howse deteyned by the Iudg, with his extortions; the third, the numbers of presents giuen voluntarilye to procure his fauour, wherby it might appeare wee had not merited the least of his Tyrannyes. Asaph Chan read them all in the presence of my messenger and answered that if hee might receiue certayne knowledg whether the Custome were

[1] See the "relation of abuses to the English merchants" in *O.C.*, No. 572, which, by the way, has been wrongly assigned in the *Cal. S.P., E. Indies*, 1617-21 (p. 81) to November, 1617.

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dischardged or not, that soe much might be deducted toward satisfaction; the rest, he should bee enforced to pay; and hee would procure the Princes order for Iustice in the wrongs for example in tymes to Come, and alsoe giue us a dischardge for the goodes deteyned in the *Alfandica*, with restitution of the bribes, and liberty to sell or transport at pleasure, with many promises of frendship to the English.

April 8.—Master Bidolph returned with my answer that I knew not whether the Customes were payd or not, but that I did desire he[1] might answere and satisfie here for the goodes taken by him perforce: that howeuer ther remayned in the *Alfandica* sufficient to dischardge the kinges dues, which we prayd warrant to receiue vpon satisfaction. He answered it was all reason and that on the morow he would enforme the Prince and cause the mony extorted to be restored, the debts payd, and a Command sent to Suratt for the release and liberty of the goodes, the customes beeing dischardged; and if the Prince refused he would assist mee in seeking Iustice of the king.

April 10.—I sent to Asaph Chan, who answered he had deliuered my seuerall papers to the Prince, who had sent them to Zulphekcarcon that hee might peruse them, and whatsoeuer was due should be payd. He was also new writting the Articles by me demanded with his owne hand, saying some woordes were not well placed by my translator: that he would mend them and procure it signed. This night came the second *Caphila*[2] from Suratt with Cloth, sent by[3] a Dutchman new tooke vp and a boye that was stewardes mate in the *lyon;* who had beene 62 dayes on the way, to the preiudice of sale, great expence, and losse of the Company to employ so ignorant and care-

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[1] Zúlfikár Khán.

[2] Caravan (Arabic *káfila*).

[3] Under the charge of.

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lesse fellowes. I receiued by this *Cafala* 3 cases of bottles of Alegant[1] (the Cases ould and woorth Nothing), and aduise from Master Kerridge of all busines at Suratt.

April 11-13.—The king went to Hafaz Gemall[2] a hunting, and I could not follow for a flux that hung on mee. Late at night the king returned.

April 14.—I went to the *Durbar* and presented the king one Case of Allegant, which hee tooke very gladly. This was the first tyme I saw Asaph Chan after the vnkindnes taken at the *Guzel Chan*, who to preuent any woordes vsed mee with more curtesy then vsuall and tould mee the Articles were ready for the seale, and all other my demandes should bee fulfilld. This day your Cape Merchannt at Adsmere dispatched a supply of Cloth and factors to Agra; which I urged a month sooner, but could not preuayle, though the yeare were farr spent.

April 16.—I went to visitt the Prince Sultan Caronne; for though Asaph Chan had vndertaken the busines, yet I feard hee was slow and perhapes the Prince did expect so much obseruance from mee as to speake to him in myne owne Cause. So I tooke some powrfull wyne and in the strength therof desired Iustice against Zulphekcarcon, offering my four papers of seuerall accusations. The Prince seemed at first discontent and answered only: his debts should be payd out of the Custome due when hee had Confessd them. I replyed that was not all I desiered nor enough in that Poynt: for first, I knew him so false he would neuer confesse them if that would avoyd it, next I expected restitution of bribes, a warrant to deliuer the goodes deteyned in Custome house, liberty to transport at

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[1] A Spanish wine, then much esteemed; so called from its place of origin (Alicante).

[2] The Daulat Bágh, or Garden of Splendour, built by Jahángír on the Aná Ságar lake. It now serves as the abode of the Chief Commissioner of Ajmere-Merwárá.

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our pleasure, a declaration that the Gouernor had belyed the king and the Prince in Publishing our banishment, and a conformation [confirmation?] of our residence, with Iustice for all personall Injuries to the example of future tymes; which if it were refused mee here, I would appeale to the king without abusing my selfe with farther hopes. Only I desiered the Prince to doe me this fauour, to receiue the Papers and to read them himselfe, for our injuries were of soe high a Nature and soe vnsupportable that I did assure myselfe of speedy redresse from a Prince of honor, when he rightly understood them, which I knew yet were deliuered to him with all fauour for my aduersary. He sayd that Zulpheckcon should be sent for to answer to the particulars. But some replyed yt would be to late, his house beeing farr off; wherat I seeing the *Buxy* of Suratt in presence, an honest man and a frend to vs, I tould the Prince, for the wronges and forces vsed to vs, his seruant the *Buxy* [was?] present, who could giue both testemony for mee and satisfaction; who speaking as far as he durst, the Prince sent for his secretary[1] and bad him take my papers, read them diligently and examine Zulphecarcon, and make warrant that what bribes, extortions, debts, eyther he or the Iudge of the *Alfandica* had taken (against whom the Complaynt was Ioyntly) should be deducted out of the Custome; if it sufficed not, the remayner should be here payd: that our goodes should be deliuered and our abode confirmed, with protection from wrong. In a woord I had an open promise for effectual satisfaction in all my desiers, except only some exemplary Iustice vpon his person; which when I urged, the secretary answered that the Iudg

[1] Mulla Shukrulla, the Prince's *díwán* or steward, rather than secretary. Roe often refers to him by his title of Afzal Khán, which was given him by Jahángír, when on behalf of his master he presented Prince Karan at court in token of the submission of Udaipur. Under Sháh Jahán he rose to high office, and died at Lahore in January, 1639.

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of the *Alfandica* should be dischardged of his place for his corruption towards vs, and that the warrante was passed the seale for his appearance, for that the Prince had beene enformed by Asaph Chan of as much as I could say; and for my assurance in what he had there Commanded he desiered me to take his woord it should bee effected to my full Content in euery poynt with all expedition: that he was sorry and ashamed of the injustice wee had endured, and that hee would euer doe his endeuour for our Content. This is hee that almost only will neuer receiue guifte nor present. When I could obteyne noe more I was well Content with this, it beeing the best Morning that euer wee had in India.

April 18.—Aganor the *Cutwall* of Agra inuited him selfe to breakfaste. He is one of our best frendes, very rich, and defendes our Nation from all Injuryes in Agra.[1]

I sent to Socorola, the Princes secretary, to sollicite the *firmaen*. Hee answered he had drawn yt according to my desire in euery clause, only it could not be sealed vntill the debts demanded by vs weere agreed vnto by Zulpheckcarcon, who was then gone with Sultan Caronne to Hafaz Geamal; but that two dayes after, if I would send any to meete Zulpheckcarcon or his *Buxy*, the debts should bee accorded and all dispatched.

April 19.—Mirza, my Neighbour and brother-in-law to the king, came to visitt mee and stayd dynner, but would not eate. He beggd euery thing, but I pleasd him

[1] In Roe's list of presents occurs the following account of this gentleman's behaviour on the occasion: "I gaue him according to the Custome two kniues, one of amber and one of jett, cost x*s*., and a pare of tables of Ebonie and Eliphantes tooth worth 30*s*. Then he desiered mee to giue his brother a pare of knives, which I did, of vj*s*. price. After that hee desired some greater knives and I shewed him fower, which hee tooke every one, without restooring the former. Though this was somewhat vnmannerly, yet I was Content, because hee is one of the best frendes wee haue in India and did keepe the English house from being taken from them in Agra" (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 278).

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with a feather, 3 or 4 Paper picturs, and an ould pare of spurrs.

April 20.—I sent according to appoyntment to meete Zulpheckcarcon at Sacarollaes, but neyther hee nor any from him would appeare. Soe he desiered those deputed by mee to come agayne on the Morow and he would take order they should not loose more labour.

April 21.—They returned and Zulpheckcarcons steward mett them at the secretaryes, who tooke great paynes to accord the accountes, and with all indifferency and Iustice assisted them in theyr demandes ; but no conclusion could be made, the steward almost absolutly denying euery particular, and for some few confessed would not consent to the price demanded. So that concerning the debts it was resolued to write to Suratt to examine witnesses & to make proofe, and vpon certifficat wee should here be payd. But this Course seemed to mee tedious and delatorye ; so that I resolued of another way, receiuing at present a *firman* for the goodes deteyned in the Custome house, and wheras Zulpheckcarcon had devulged that a *firmaen* was granted for our banishment it was playnly declared a lye, and Command giuen to entertayne and vse the English with all fauour, authorising not only their residence but transport and free trade at their pleasures. Concerning other particular Injuries complayned off long before, for which I was offered a *firmaen* very effectuall, but for a Clause concerning the Portugalles I had refused it :[1] it was now new drawen, that article left out, and offered mee, beeing more lardge and ample in many poyntes for our redresse ; which I alsoe thanckfullie accepted, resoluing to take what I could, and after to seeke remedy for the rest ; but with that was sent the 3 Articles signed by me long before, requiring a fourth that for all armes, as swoordes,

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[1] See p. 141.

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pieces, and such, [they ?] should remayne in the Custome house and be sould there, with some other friuolous motions, which I rejecting absolutly, It was deliuered without yt, and the former articles alsoe forgotten to be remanded. For my demand of Iustice against the parsonall wrongs offered to our Nation, I was answered that Zulpheckcarcon did recriminat and Complaine as much against theyr extreame drunckennes, ryott, quarreling and drawing their swoordes in the *Alfandica* against the kings officers, and that therfore I was to sett one against other and seeke to mend both in tyme to Come: or, if I would not, that then the Prince would expect that Iustice were likwise done vpon such as had offended. I knew to my shame this accusation true and so demurrd of my resolution to prosecute against his person, beeing a fauoritt of the Princes, vntill I had satisfaction in my other demandes; it being free for mē to renew it at my best advantage. Now I had many sutes a foote and durst not venture to haue all my desiers at once or none.

April 23.[1]—I sent to Sacarolla this proposition: to giue me another *firmaen*, directed to Abram Chan, to examine our account at Suratt, wher, if any proofe could be made, the wittnesses were; and for as much as should be made manifest, to giue warrant to be deducted out of the Custome; for first to send downe to examine wittnesses, to expect answer, and after to attend payment, when in the meane tyme we were forced to cleare the Custome, or suffer our goodes to lye & take lesse, I thought vnreasonable. He answered he had labored for vs, and had drawen him[2] to Confesse most part, to the summe of 14 or 15,000 *Mamoodies*;[3] so that he was resolued he had all the rest,

[1] Shakespeare's death-day.
[2] Zúlfikár Khán.
[3] The *Mamúdí* was a Gujárát coin which circulated extensively in W. India. Terry calls it "about twelve pence sterling;" Peyton says it equalled 30 *pice*, of which 33½ were equivalent to an English shilling.
Terry's account of the coinage of India is interesting. He says

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and therfore would putt him to sweare to euery particular by the Princes head, which was as much as could be done in the case of any Subject, and when he had answered wee should receiue a *firmaen* for all togither. Further he sayd that 700 and odd ryalls of 8 specifyed in our bill to rest in the Custome house was sent to the Prince in specie, for which we should haue warrant.

April 25.—Seeing this could not be effected with expedition I sent downe the two *firmaens* receiued to Suratt, with advise how I would proceede in the busines, giuing warning to arme themselues with what proofe could be made against that which Zulpheckcarcon should here forsweare.

To the Factors at Surat.

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 93.)

26 April, 1616.

You may thinck I haue forgotten to write, so teadious vncertaintyes having shutt up all occasion. I was willing to effect somwhat, and by the passadge therof to make iudgment of our estimation here and what wee might discreetly hope for in tymes to Come, as well in respect of our reception, as of our meanes to continew this trade from England; soe that nowe I will giue you particular answers to all the parts of your lettres, as also some generall aduises and obseruations of myne owne. . . . .

(p. 119): "The Coyn or Bullion brought thither from any place is presently melted and refined and the Mogol's stamp (which is his Name and Titles, in Persian Characters) put upon it. The Coyn there is more pure than in any other part of the World, being (as they report) made of pure Silver without any Allay; so that in the Spanish Money, the purest of all Europe, there is some loss. They call their pieces of Money *Roopees*, of which there are some of divers values, the meanest worth two shillings and three pence, and the best two shillings and ninepence sterling. By these they account their Estates and Payments. They have another Coyn of inferiour value in Guzarat called *Mamoodies*, about twelve pence sterling; both the former and these are made in halfs, and some few in quarters; so that threepence is the least piece of Silver current in those Countryes, and very few of them to be seen. That which passeth up and down for exchange under this rate is Brass or Copper money, which they call *Pices*, whereof three or thereabouts countervail a penny. Those *pices* are made so massie and thick as that the baser metal of which they are made, put to other uses, is well nigh worth the Silver they are rated at. Their Silver Coyn is made either round or square, but so thick as that it never

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The Continuinge of this trade consists principally on two Poynts: our good reception and prineledges to be obteyned and performed to vs here: and the vent of our owne comodityes. Without the one, wee cannot abyde with honor; without the other wee will not, to no proffitt. For our reception and priuiledges they stand on doubtfull tearmes and will runne the chaunce of fortune. For the King respectes vs very well and is ready to grant all reasonable demandes; but this affection is forced and not naturall, and therfore noe permanent nor assured ground to build on. The Prince dislikes vs, and though he fauour no Christian, yet the Portugall most, and hath pleaded for him (vnder pretence of more profitt to his Port, disdainfully asking what wee bring, but Cloth and Kniues). Now this disposition is Naturall, like to Continew and in tyme vpon all aduantages to woorke or weare out his fathers better opinione, which is att best but feare and temporising; for if euer the Portugall can giue vs one blowe, wee are lost here. . . . . . For our second foundation of our residence in these parts, the venting of our owne Comodytye, though I haue no sckill in particular merchandize yet I vniversally discerne they will sooner and faster weaken vs here then the want of priuiledges, for I see no Comoditye that will proue staple and certaynly vendable, able to returne a ship yearly. Our Cloth will not off in many yeares; here I am perswaded twenty will not sell; the King is Glutted with the last, and no man reguardes it. Swoordes are woorse; lead and teeth, if they will vent, yet will they lade faster out then home. For one yeare gould or siluered veluettes, Grogrames, Chamletts and silk stuffes may serue vs, but constantly noething. So that my opinion is, breefly, seeing our state cannot beare the exportation of mony, except some new trade can be discouered from the East to serue this Kingdome, it must fall to ground by the weaknes of itts owne leggs. . . . .[1]

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breaks nor wears out. They have pure Gold Coyn likewise, some pieces of great value; but these are not very ordinarily seen amongst them."

[1] This letter initiated an interesting correspondence on the prospects of the trade and the drain of silver from Europe which it entailed. Writing on the 26th of the following month, Kerridge and his colleagues answered the ambassador's remarks as follows: "It hath Further pleased your Lordship to insiste on the principal necessary Causes For the Continuance of our trade: the one our good reception and priuilidges, the other the vent of our Commodities. To the First, itt hath not bine vnderstood (as wee conceaue) that our entertaynment proceeded from affection, but rather through Feare, occasioned by the example of Sir Henry Myddleton; neather is itt the princes want of affection only, but the portingales bringing in of more proffitts by Costomes and presents then wee; and the merchants of this place are alsoe vndone by our trade to the Southwards, which hath taken (as wee may terme itt) the meate out of their

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April 26.—I receiued intelligence that the Prince caused one of his seruants at the *Durbar* to aske the king why he

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mouthes and overthrowne their trade that way, besides the oppression and wrong done them (Cheefely For our cause) by the portingales, soe that of Feared euills they chose in appeareance the leaste, though it haue prooued otherwise, For since our Coming this porte is vndone, which in their greefs they spare not somtymes to tell vs ; and, had the portingals in their enterprises against vs prevayled (as your lordship rightly aleageth), wee had ere now bine expulced. Soe that, as our entertaynment was in a manner Forced, our priuilidges and good vsadge (if at all as wee Feare) must accordingly bee obtayned and Continued. For the second Foundation (the vendeing of our Comodities) we make no question but that store of goods may bee brought which will yeald both good proffitt and ready monys heere. Lead, Tynn and dyuers others are staple Commodities ; 150 or 200 choise cloths will sell alsoe to good proffitt ; swords and the like are of small importe ; in lew wherof dyuers other things may bee brought, and though perchaunce they Faile on yeare in present sales, yett merchants are to seeke out and sende (at adventure) whatsoeuer may bee hoped will yeald benneffitt. And though all these should Faile, the Commodities of this Country may haue such Currant vent in some of our neighbour lands as will produce more ready Coyne then the Company shall neede to send heyther to supplie this trade" (I. O. Records : *Surat Records*, 841, f. 36). Roe returned to the subject on the 19th June (*MS.*, f. 104) : "Without mony this trade will fall, which is one motiue not to be too base to hould it vp. That these Comodityes will vent for siluer in other Countryes our neighbors is no answere ; for this [*silver*] comes not out of England which is now sent, and wee are as well members of Europe as Citizens of England, which is but one lymne and if the whole growe poore wee beare our proportion. But the losse is more particular ; for if wee did not send mony this way, the Merchant, who often sould for mony, gott more by returning it in specie very often then by investing it ; and so it Came to the Kings mynt, which now cryes like a hungry belly against this trade." The factors replied (23rd July) with some spirit : "That the Commodities from hence vendinge for silver in other Countryes Can be no aunswer, vnder Correction of your better Iudgment we apprehend it otherwise. For silver which Comes not thither Cannot Com thence, and consequently the state hath neither benefitt or preiudyce ; but Commodities Carryed from hence and transported to Forrain partes geves Double Custom, the proceede wherof by reimployment bringeth Continuall proffitt both to the state and Commonwealth. Our being members of Europe as Citizens of England were a verry good reason to Consider our proportion of the generall poverty, if the members of Europe were also citizens of England ; who, seking their owne benefitt, waye not our Losse ; As the duche transport a pound to our shillinge, the Portingal little lesse, besydes the somes Convayed from many partes of Christendom into Turkay. And more particularly, the monyes sent this waye, if the trade were not, would be transported into Turky in greater somes to procure the Commodities of this place. Besides which, we intreat your Consideration that all the silver landed heer this yeere amounteth not to aboue 4000 li. sterlinge, wheras the goodes retorned vpon the

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vsed so good Countenance to the English that for their cause the Portugalls were barred the Port of Suratt, who brought more proffitt to the king, as many Ballaces,[1] Pearles, and Iewelles, wheras the English came only to seeke proffitt with Cloth, Swoordes, and kniues of little estimation. The king answered only: it was true, but who could mend yt? Hereby the Princes good affection was manifest, and I had faire warning to be watchfull and to study to preserue ourselues in the kinges grace, in which only wee were safe; but I resolued to take notice of this

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Lyon amounteth to fower tymes the som, the rest is proceede of Commodities; the Costom wherof will bringe more profitt to the Kinges Coffers then the want of a farr greater quantetye of silver to be Coyned in his mint; wherby you maye be pleased to perceave the Crye in this respect is without Cause." Roe, in a further letter of the 20th August (*MS.*, f. 114), rejoined with some asperity that he "doubted not but that the king may gayne in Customes wher the Common wealth doth loose, that england might profitt by Europes detriment. But I proposed a generall Care, wherin if the Dutch and Portugall fayle in their duties, it doth not follow you should err in your Iudgment. . . . Howeuer you esteeme that little losse, the Parliament of England, which is the spiritt and soule of the wisedome of England, more valewes 10,000*li.* mony in regard of substantiall wealth then 100,000 in estimation in China dishes, silkes, spices, dyes and trash, that consume in one yeare, the fuell of yearely pride and gluttony; for in the neede or perill of the Commonwealth none of these will sett out a fleete to sea nor pay an army. And if their authorytye prevaile with you, know, if the last [*The 'Addled Parliament'* (1614), *in which Roe had sat as member for Tamworth*] had proceeded, they had limited both this and the Turkish Company, supposing the Crye of the Kings mynt to be as mournfull a hearing as if the liver, the fountayne of blood, should complayne in a naturall body. For they Consider not like you that more profitt came to the Kings coffers by Customes of East India goodes then would arise by all the mony that is transported; but they regarded that so much mony in England were more esteemable then all that goods to the Common wealth, for that what soeuer comes in by Customes is the Kings owne and is payd by the mony already in the land, but the siluer that Comes to the mynt is as it were new begotten and added to the stocke of the kingdome, and is the property of diuers men, beeing enfranchised and naturalized by the Kings stampe and impression."

It will be noticed that the factors, in defending the export of silver from England, took the line of argument adopted five years later by Thomas Mun in his *Discourse of Trade* (1621).

[1] The Balass ruby, really a rose-red spinelle. The word is said to be a corruption of *Balakhshí* or *Badakhshí*, from Badakhshán, their place of origin.

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and to make proofe if I could settle a better opinion in the Prince of our Nation.

To Master Lescke, Minister of Gods Woord at Suratt.[1]

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 359.)

Adsmere, April 27, 1616.

Mr. Lescke,

I should haue beene glad to haue heard some newes from the church, for of the world I haue dayly too much. *Vnum necesse est.*[2] Though it was not my good happ to see you at my comming away, yet I left my well wishes, and shalbe glad to heare of you and from you. Much I cannot doe, but both your place (to which I euer owed reuerence), your sincere carriadge (to which I must testefye), command me to offer any thing in my powre, which you shall freely vse when you will make tryall. I know too well how slightly the ministery is regarded, but he that considers the saying of our sauiour: he that despiseth mee, despiseth him that sent mee, will know god takes the Injuryes offered to his delegates as done to him. I write not that I doubt any such measure toward you (your owne grauetye will withstand yt); but that I may lett you know my desire to carry straw to Gods building, and that I had rather wayte on the temple then in the courts of Princes.

If you expect news from mee, I must freely say I neuer Imagined a Prince so famed would liue so meanly. All his wealth is no woonder. The *Norose*, at which tyme all is exposed, is a poore may game. Religions infinite; lawes none. In this Confusion what can bee expected?

I haue little els to say, but that which is most materiall for mee, that you will remember mee in your prayers. God hath dealt mercifully with mee, and (as I may say) hath visited and yet redeemed mee; for I haue had a long tyme of sicknes and am euery day relapsing, yet his mercy hath often raysd mee, His name be praysd euer. So, with the assurance of my good hart toward you, I committ you to the tuition of him who nether bruseth the broken reed nor quencheth the smoking flaxe.

Your assured frend,

Tho. Roe.

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[1] This letter has been reproduced in fac-simile: its brevity, and the fact that it is entirely in Roe's hand, rendering it especially suitable for that purpose.

The Rev. William Lescke had come out in the same fleet as the ambassador, having been appointed chaplain to the Surat factory. He did not get on well with his flock, and, in January, 1617, he was removed by Pepwell and sent home on charges of licentiousness and drunkenness brought against him by the factors.

[2] Luke x, 42.

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Mr Leske:

I should have beene glad to have heard
[illegible] in yr prayers: yor [illegible] mercifully wth mee,
and as I may say, hath visited, and yet redeemed mee; for I have
had a long tyme of sicknes, and am every day relapsing, yet his
mercy hath often raysed me: His name be praysed ever: So wth ye
assurance of my good hart toward you I committ you to the tuition
of him, who neither bruseth the broken reed nor quencheth the smoking flax

Adsmeer: Apr: 27: 1616:

Yr assured frend

Tho: Roe

FACSIMILE OF SIR THOMAS ROE'S LETTER TO MR. LESCKE

(India Office Records: O.C., No. 359)

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April 27.—I aduised Asaph Chan what had passd concerning Zulpheckcarcon, who returned me that I should not abate one *Pice*.

April 28.—I sent to Socarolla, who answered that Zulpheckcarcon had beene putt to sweare according to promise to the particulars vnconfessed and that hee had Craued 3 dayes to call all his people to account what had beene taken without his knowledge or not in his Memorie, which was granted; and that the *firmaen* for the 700 Riall of Eight[1] and the debts Confessed was ready, but to end togeather it was deteyned vntill the expiration of this tyme, when wee should haue satisfaction in all.

April 29.—I roade to visitt Asaph Chan in the Morning, but hee was asleepe. At night I went to the *Durbar* about my articles from the King, which were of most consequence. Asaph Chan, after many Complementes excusing his sluggishnes, desiered me to take no care for them: he would gett them signed, and send them: that he tooke so to hart our busines that I might rest secure, and that he needed no other remembrancer then his affection to mee. This ouermuch kindnes was suspitious to mee, but I seemed to beeleue it sincere. So I desired him to tell the king I had some wyne left, which, beginning to be hard, I durst not present, not knoweing how hee liked yt, but if it were agreable to his Majestie I would send it to the *Guzell chan*; which he accepted, and I performed.

April 30.—I sent to Socorolla, who answered hee would make a warrant for the payment of as much as was Confessed, which should bee ready on the Morowe.

At night Etiman-Dowlett,[2] father of Asaph Chan and

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[1] See p. 164.

[2] Itimád-uddaula (Mírza Ghiásuddín Muhammad). After his daughter's marriage to Jahángír, he was given a high post at court, but he does not seem to have taken an active part in the administration. He was kind to Hawkins at the time of the latter's visit (*Voyages* p. 414).

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Normall, sent me a basquett of Muske-Millons with this Complement that they came from the handes of the Queene his daughter, whose seruant was the bearer.

May 1.—I sollicited Socorolla for the warrant for our debt, but insteed therof receiued that Zulpheckcarcon had not swoorne to all particulars demanded, beeing loath to venture perjurye, and therfore would on the Morowe send Hoja Nasson to my house to agree on euery poynt, and soe eyther pay mee ready mony at Adsmere or by bill of exchange at Suratt at my Choyce.

May 3.—I receiued lettres from the factory of Amadavaz that because they had demanded the 500 rupies taken from them, by virtue of the kings command sent them, the Gouernor, Abdella chan,[1] beeing returned from the Armie in Decan, sent the *Cuttwall* to take theyr howse perforce for one of his trayne. They resisted, and craued releefe.

May 4.—I went to Asaph chan to acquaynt him with this affront and desiered his Councell, pretending I was vnwilling to Complayne to the king and prouoke his indignation against a great man who had Contemned his Majesties *firmaen* that Commanded all sort of good vsage to our Nation, both because I would not on euery slight occasion trouble his Maiestie nor willingly draw on me the hate of the Nobilitye (who would all partake against a stranger) if I could by any faire way procure remedye and enjoy our libertyes with good liking. He gaue me great thanckes and assured mee hee would see my redresse should be speedy and effectuall: that therfore hee desired mee to forbeare according to my proposition: that hee would write on the Morrow to Abdella chan and to two other

[1] Abdala Khán, governor of Gujárát, who had just prosecuted an unsuccessful campaign against the Dekhan kings. As will be seen, he was soon after recalled to court in disgrace, but was pardoned through the influence of Prince Khurram. He was a strong partisan of the latter, and took a prominent part in his rebellion. In the subsequent reign, Abdala Khán earned the title of Fírúz Jang by his suppression of Khán Jahán's insurrection. He died in 1644.

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frendes he had there, who should be solicitors for the English; and that if after that he Contineued to Iniure us, he would cause him to be sent for, and to answere yt to the king. With this I rested Content. About my articles he sayd they were in some places obscure: that he had Cleard them to the king and would procure them signed: that he was neuer lyar nor of a double hart: that I should find him so ready to doe my Nation any seruice, as our cause were his owne. Only hee sayd we brought not so curious toyes for the king as did the Portugall; to which I answered fully, and to giue him proofe I desiered a *Scrite*[1] in what sorts the king would most delight, which hee promised, naming for the present, Pictures in brasse, the Coullors layd in, especially a basson and ewre of such woork, some coulored french muff or Plush, some good cloth of gould and siluer, some sutes of Arras in great Imagery and fine, a saddle and feild Caparison, but aboue all an English horse; and for our Cloth the finest sort, wherof the king would buy quantetyes. I replyed that the Company could hardly venture upon Cloth of high price and the richest clothes of gould vnlesse they were sure of vent: for toyes they would furnish the king of guift, but mattres of great chardge theyr gaynes would not beare: but if he would sett downe the particulars and quantetyes and prices, and giue the kings *Chop* that they should be taken off and payd for, I would promise his desire should be satisfied fully; which he sayd he would enforme the king. Hee drew the swoord I wore and with extraordinarie Commendations prouoked mee to say it was at his seruice. He answered hee was no man of Complement: that to take a swoord from soe good a frend was held vnluckye. I replyed the excuse was not strong enough against the affection with which it was offered: that with

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[1] A written list (see p. 70).

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vs one frend gaue another a swoord when he was to vse yt. He sayd small perswasions would serue from mee: that he would vse yt at my seruice; and with more Complements then any Parisian tooke yt. He invited mee to dinner some dayes after (but naming none), where he promised to be merry and drinck wyne with me as a Curtesye. So I tooke leaue. About two howers after he sent his steward with 20 Musk-mellons for his first present. Doubtlesse they suppose our felicitye lyes in the palate, for all that euer I receiued was eateable and drinckable[1] —yet no *aurum potabile.*

May 5.—In the Morning Came a Mogull Merchant from Hoja Nasson to desier a Peace, offering to bring Zulpheckcarcon to my howse and to make eauen the accounts and to pay the mony here or at Suratt. I replyed I was ready to forgiue some Injuries, but his abusing my Master would alway stand betweene vs vntill he made amendes: for the debts I desird him to dine with mee on the Morow, when I would be ready to make my demandes; which hee promised. At night I sent to Asaph chan for the 3 promised lettres. Hee answered the Procurator of Abdela chan was newly arriued at Court, with whom he had beene so round that he doubted not of good satisfaction to the english: that he was to returne in few dayes: that it had beene his watch,[2] which hindered him for performance of his promise, which hee would presently fullfill: desiring to send for them in the Morning. This day I receiued lettres from Agra complayning of theyr house; but they had it rent free and it was lardg, and I held it not fitt to trouble the king vnnecessarilye.

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[1] Presents of fruit were very usual compliments; see Tavernier, *passim.*

[2] The nobles were required to take turn in mounting guard. "It is the custome of all those that receiue pay or liuing from the King to watch once a week, none excepted, if they be well, and in the Citie" (Hawkins' *Voyages*, p. 432); see also Tavernier's *Voyages* (ed. by Ball), i, p. 381.

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May 6.—Came Hoyja Nasson to account for Zulpheckcarcons debt. After some particulars read, for want of one to write on their sides, he desird that some English might early on the Morow come to his howse, wher should meete a *scriuano*[1] and finish that busines, and that ready mony should be deliuered or bills to Suratt at choyse; to which I agreed, and dessigned Masters Bidolph and Fettiplace[2] to attend yt. This day I dispatched for Amadavaz 3 lettres from Asaph chan, one to the Gouernor, Abdala chan, the other to his brother, Zudgar chan, the third to Abbal the *Buxy*, signifing both the kings pleasure for the good entreatment of the English and his owne desire and fauour on their part, perswading to suffer them abyde in their house and to vse theyr trade with freedome, for that otherwise Complaynts would be addressed to the king by the Ambassador, to whom his Maiestie had promised speedy Iustice. I wrote alsoe to Abdala chan in fayre tearmes to procure him my frend, knowing the easeyest is the safest way: but withall letting him know I must performe my duty if he neglected his. The Coppy is registred.[3]

May 7.—Hoya Nasson could not Attend our account.

May 8.—They Mett and the *Scriuane* of Zulpheckcarcon was present. They Charged him by particulars, wherof some hee denied. The Conclusion was that Hoya Nassan would goe to him and showe him our demandes and perswade him to pay vs: if not, we should on the Morowe receiue a resolute answere. To day I receiued lettres from Amadauaz that the English were remoued out of their

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[1] A scrivener or writer (Port. *escrivão*).

[2] Francis Fetiplace appears to have arrived at Surat in Downton's fleet. He was at Ajmere till the autumn of 1616, when he proceeded to Agra, returning to the royal camp a few months later. He died at Agra about May, 1621. Roe praised him as "a right true merchant, not easely matched."

[3] See f. 98 of the MS.

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howse by the Gouernors order, but without force; in which they were too hastie, for they wrote to me for redresse, which I sent within two dayes, and they would not attend an answere, to the great losse of the Company.

May 9.—Hoya Nassan returned this answere that Zulpheckcarcon had Confessed many particulars denied by his *Scriuano*, and the rest hee doubted not but hee would pay, for that hee desiered peace and Frendship with mee; and that in two dayes it should be finished. At Noone the late *Buxy* of Suratt came to visitt me, one well fauoured by the Prince, with whome, knoweing the qualetye of our Iniuries, having beene an eye-wittnesse,[1] I had some Conferance about Zulpheckcarcon, in whose behalfe hee spake to make agreement. I tould him in conclusion that I would be noe longer delayed: if in 2 dayes Zulpheckcarcon did not ingenuously confesse the Iniuries and debts, and giue me satisfaction, I would acquaynt the king not only with his villany toward vs but with the oppressions of his subjects, his robberies and all his Tiranney exersised in his Gouerment, and in particular of the forcing the house of the Gouernor of Gundiuee[2] & taking all his goodes and drowening his Mother, keeping him in a dungion to preuent Complaynts. He promised mee his endeuour to end all in the prefixed tyme.

At night the king sent me a woeman slaue, seruant to Normall, who for some offence was putt away. I was loath to receiue her, it beeing Midnight, but the officers would take noe refusall, having Command to deliuer her to myselfe, that I was enforced to lett one come into my bedside with her; and soe receiued her, a graue woeman of 40 years. I demanded her fault. The officer answered the king bad him assure me she was honest, only

[1] See p. 160.

[2] Gandevi, a town and port 28 miles S.E. of Surat, now in Baroda territory.

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shee had offended the woeman. The particulars shee after tould me. For that night I was forced to lodge her in my dininge roome, and early in the Morninge I sent to Asaph Chan to giue the king thanckes, but that a woeman was vnfit for my house: that shee had some Frendes on whom I would bestowe her, if it might not bee displeasing to the king, shee having beene soe neare his Person.

This night I was encompassed with fier, it having begane on 3 sydes; one wherof was soe vehement that it Consumed many thousand howses. Wee were all at our doore ready to shift, for wee had beene[1] forced to loose all our goodes. Ther were burnt in one house 14 woemen and some men, and many others otherwere. My house Master Edwardes builte all of strawe sides and tops,[2] so that it neither kept out wynd, dust, nor rayne, to our infinite discomoditye, and wee were Nightly afrayed of our liues, the fiers being soe Common that to my remembrance no night did escape without some, and soe terrible in the wyndes that all the streets beeing of straw howses and many places Grasse, hay, Corne, and wood piles, that there hath beene no possibility to come neare, it licking up all eauen to the Townes end. It had beene thrice within a quoyts Cast of my house, but the wynd fauoured, or else we had lost all. Soe that, beeing Prest by the Merchannts, whose goodes were vtterly lost if the fier took vs, and for our securitie, having scarce had one night of rest, and finding by myne owne experiance I could build sufficient roomes of bricke and lome fier-free euery way for lesse mony the[n] Master Edwardes his steward spent in straw, I resolued to pull all downe, which I did in one day; and in ten after I had finished 7 good Roomes, wherby the English shall Now bee sufficiently howsed for 20 years, with some reparation

[1] Should have been.

[2] Probably of bamboo or some kind of reed; such *cutcha* buildings are common in India. Roe had previously added some rooms (see p. 113).

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by reason of the violent raynes, and secure both in theyr goodes and Persons.

May 10.—Asaph chan sent me woord that, by reason the woeman sent by the king had beene neare the king and queene and putt away in Cholar, he wished mee not to giue her libertie before he had spoken with the king; giuing me thanckes for my respect towardes his Maiestie in sending before I deliuered her.[1]

May 12.—I receiued answer that hee would send a *Banian* for her, and keepe her vntill the king might forgiue or dispose her; for I was in trouble with her, but had placed her in a seruantes house that was Married. This night Hoya Nassan sent woord I should know a resolution concerning the debts of Zulpheckcarcon on the Morrowe. This day I dispatched an advise to Suratt.[2]

May 13.—I receiued answer that hee had labored in the busines and had drawne him to agree to pay 17 thousand *Mamodoes*, which was all hee could doe, and desiered mee to accept it. It was 2900 lesse then the bill sent of the publique and priuat debt, but in consideration some things were ouerrated, both on the Companyes behalfe as alsoe of priuat mens, and that the losse was not very great, euery man beeing to beare a part, I sent Master Bidolph to see. If [in] this offer the 750 rialles acknowledged by the Prince and the bribe of the Iudge of the *Alfandica* were not comprehended, but that those should be payd apart, then I gaue him order to make a finall end, knoweing it better to loose somewhat then wholy to draw the Princes indignation toward vs, who much desiered an end of this question; but withall I bad him make tryall to aduance as much more as could be

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[1] In a letter to Surat a month later, Roe humorously summed up the tokens he had received of the king's liberality as consisting of hoggs flesh, deare, a theefe and a whore."

[2] The letter is given on f. 99 of the MS.

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gotten without open warr. He returned with answere that all was Comprehended in this offer, and that I must giue a generall acquittance for any further demand, for that hee[1] had taken on him to satisfie the Royalles of eight and to Cleare all questions, and that if I would not accept of this I should seek remedie; if I showed papers he had papers to answer them (Thus Confident he bare himselfe on the Prince); and that hee did offer to pay what wee could proue, which was not halfe, beeing taken on the way, in the boate and in the Towne without any order. At Euening I sent the Princes secretarie woord of this answer: that I was resolued to Complayne to the king: and that, having attended soe long for respect only of the Prince, I hoped hee would not be displeased. He answered hee would acquaynt the Prince what I said: for his owne parte he would no longer diswade mee from seekin Iustice. I sent alsoe to Asaph chan to the same effect, and to lett him know that he should not bee seene in the busines to displease the Prince, but that I would deliuer my Complaynt in writing my selfe: I only desiered his fauorable good woord to the king in our behalfe. He gaue me many thancks for this respect toward him, but hee entreated mee for his sake to forbeare a few dayes: that hee would speake with the Prince and Zulpheckcarcon and procure an end. Hee desiered I would not stand for 2 or 3 thousand *Mamodoes*, for the Princes sake and his: that other wayes it should not bee lost: that he spake this for loue, knoweing the Princes affection to Zulpheckarcon and his vnreaconsilable disposition: that wee should neuer haue quiett at Suratt whilest hee was lord therof, without daylie Complaynts to the king, which would much prejudice vs to sett the father against the sonne, and giue great aduantage to our enemyes. He sent a seruant

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[1] Zúlfikár Khán.

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for my woeman and I was very glad to returne my present.

May 15.—I sent Asaph chan an antidote for poyson,[1] giuing thancks for his free dealing and fauour, and, that he should see what power eyther the Prince or himselfe had to Command mee, I would venture beyound my authoritye to giue away that which was non of myne owne, and that, if hee pleased to spend one hower to hear vs both, he should be Iudg and decide the difference. He replyed he would not meddle in that kinde, the Prince beeing in a sorte a party, for he had most of the goodes; but he assured me he had dealt the night before very effectually with the Prince and that hee had not receiued any other then a Generall answere: that the Next day, if he could procure it, hee would send me a resolution: if I hard not from him in 4 dayes then I should vnderstand he could doe noe good; and bad me make readye a petition in the name of the Merchannts to the king, and hee would giue mee all my [his ?] assistance.

May 16.—I dispatched a lettre to the Gouernor of Agra[2] concerning a debt oweing by his brother, to see if with faire woordes I could procure it, hauing soe many of that kinde

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[1] Probably a bezoar-stone; they were "much used in India against all poyson and other diseases" (Linschoten, ii, 143), and thence derived their name (Pers. *pádzár*). In April, 1617, Roe asked Bangham to procure for him a few of these stones, adding some particulars which are sufficiently interesting for quotation: "For Bezars," he says, "ther are 3 sortes; the best are of Persia, others from Malacca, the last of Masolapatan and Bengala. . . . The best . . . are a blackish-greene of Persia . . . The Prices in England are about 3*li.* an ounce; if the stones be great and whole they are woorth 5*li.* . . . To avoid Counterfaytes . . . with a very hot needles poynt peck them. If it make noe signe, they are not false; if the nedle enter or burne them, they are made ones. The best triall of the virtue is to lay them in Buffles milke, and the best will turne it like runnett and those are rich." Roe himself seems to have been rather sceptical of their efficacy, at least in ordinary diseases; for when, in 1624, the Queen of Bohemia commissioned him to procure some for her, he wrote that "Sir Thomas Smyth is alway furnished plentifully, yet they will not cure his gowt."

[2] See f. 99 of the MS.

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that would Cloye the king, and this some tymes proues the best and is ever the easiest way. This Eueninnge the king went to Pocara,[1] 4 *Course* off Adsmere, a village of the *Bannians* where they resort for devotion, full of their Pagodes and other gentilitiall impietyes. When they haue any solemnitye he vseth to visitt it for sport.

May 21.—The King returned from Pocara.

May 22.—I went to the *Durbar* to visitt the king and to desier his authoritie to haue one Jones, a youth that was runn away from me to an Italian and protected himselfe vnder the name of the king to the infamy of our Nation.[2] The king gaue order for his deliuerie; but the Prince, who euer wayted oportunitye to disgrace our Nation, for the Cause of his fauoritte Zulpheckcarcon (with whom I was newly broken off from conference and had sent the Prince woord I would noe longer forbeare openinge my Cause to the king), mooued the king in priuatt to send for the youth first; which at the *Guselcann* he did. And the Prince giuing him countenance, he rayled to my face with most virulent malice, desiering the king to saue his life; so the king resolued not to deliuer him to mee but to send him prisoner to Suratt. But the Prince to braue mee begged him for his seruant, the fellow having quite renownced his Countrie. The king gaue him to the Prince, notwithstanding any reasons I could alleadge. Soe the Prince presently gaue him 150 *rupies* and the pay of two horse and forbad mee to meddle with him.

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[1] Pushkar, where there is a celebrated temple to Brahmá It is still a great place of pilgrimage for the Hindús, and at the annual assembly it is said that nearly a hundred thousand bathe in the sacred lake.

[2] In a letter to Masulipatam (see p. 217), Roe stated that Jones "departed my house without Consent and liued a life scandalous both to mine and my Nations honor, from which when I sought to withdrawe him by force and to punish him exemplarily, hee fell to woorse, abusing both his Majestie, my selfe and all his Countrimen" (I. O. Records, *O. C.*, No. 382).

The Italian referred to was John Veronese, of whom see p. 142.

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May 23.—At Night my man came and fell at my feete, asking pardon for his lyeing and madnes, and offered to submitt himselfe in any kind. I tould him I would not now keepe him prisoner: he was the Princes seruant: but that before I could giue him any answere he should make me publique satisfaction as farr as he was able. This day I receiued lettres from one lucas[1] at Mesolapatan concerning Merchauntes affaires, which I understood not and deliuered them to Bidolph to be sent to Suratt.

May 24.—Jones made meanes to come to the *Guzelchan* and there asked pardon of the king for his lyes, denieing euery woord he had spoken to haue beene done to protect him selfe from mee, whom he had offended; desiering the king to send for mee that hee might there aske my pardon. The king was well pleased; But the Prince fell into a great rage.

May 25.—I went to the *Guzellcan*, where after many protestations of the king that hee neuer beleeued him: that hee was a villayne: yet hee could doe noe lesse but protect him, hauing cast him selfe into his Mercy, the youth was sent for, who on his knees asked me forgiuenes and on his oath swore to the king that he had in euery particular belied mee, which hee professed to doe voluntarie for that hee neuer durst returne to his Countrie. The king Chid him a little and tould me, he nor any good man euer beleued him. But the Prince grew so angry that moevinge him with many questions to stand to his first woordes, which hee refusing was bid begone; and the Prince, publiquely Calling for him againe, bad him most basely returne him the 150 *Rupies* deliuered him, for that hee gaue it to mayntayne him against mee, which seeing he

[1] Lucas Antheunis. He and another Dutchman, Pieter Floris, were the leaders of the Company's seventh voyage (1611), which was especially intended to open up trade on the Coromandel coast, and at Patani and Siam. He had reached Masulipatam from Patani towards the end of 1615.

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went from, he would haue his mony, which the fellow promised; but he would haue it presently and so sent an vnder-treasurer with him to the house wher he was lodged, for into myne I would not suffer him to Come.[1]

May 26.—I sent to Asaph chan, the tyme being expiered about Zulpheckcarcon, having promised to doe noething without him, which promise necessitie vrged me too, for that I am tyed to this inconvenience, that my linguist may neuer speake to the king but only to Asaph chan, who is appoynted sollicitor for our Nation, soe that I can doe nothing without him, neyther will he euer deliuer but what hee pleaseth. I sent him woord my Petition was ready: I only attended his answere. He returned mee that I should forbeare yet a few dayes: that hee would see mee payd or pay it himselfe. I urdged a day, which hee would not sett; for, said he, if I misse one, you will count me a promise-breaker; but that I should take his woord hee would see the mony satisfied.

May 27.—I went to the *Durbar*, wher the king vsed me

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[1] Jones had been recommended to Roe by Lord Carew, who, on learning of his behaviour, expressed extreme vexation and regretted that the "monstrous wretche . . . was nott hanged by the Kinge or you when his fillthenesse and treasons towards you were manifested" (Maclean's *Letters of Lord Carew*, p. 122). How much Roe was angered by being braved in the face of the court by one of his own followers is shown by the pains he took to secure the punishment of the culprit, who was now desirous of quitting the country. To send him prisoner to Surat was out of the question, as the ambassador had "promised the king otherwise;" so Roe stooped to gain his ends by a trick. He persuaded Jones to make his way overland to Masulipatam with the idea of getting a passage by a Dutch ship; then, to secure his capture, an order on the English factory for 25*l.* was given him, and directions were secretly sent to the factors to seize him when he should present it; should he be suspicious and abstain from claiming the money, he was to be inveigled aboard an English ship "under pretence of merriment," and sent home. Antheunis duly carried out his instructions, and Jones reached London a prisoner in October, 1618, and was at once committed to Newgate. On January 20th and March 16th following, he petitioned the Privy Council for release on bail (*Cal. Dom. State Papers*), but, upon a representation from the East India Company, it was determined to leave him where he was until Roe's return. His subsequent fate is unknown.

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with extraordinary fauour ; but the first woord hee asked when any english shippes would come. I answered : about fower Monthes. Then he demanded what presents they would bring. I named Arras and Pictures in brasse. He asked for dogges. I tould him I doubted not but hee should bee furnished alsoe this fleete. So he seemed Content.

I also sent to Asaph chan in the Morning about the debt, but hee answered hee would not meddle farther in yt: the Prince he would not loose for vs. So at the *durbar* I expostulated with him about this answere: that I only depended on him: and now Contrarie to his promise to be rejected I thought it very vniust. I desiered him to deale playnly, for I knew I was able to deliuer the king my Complayntes at any tyme in writing without him, which I was resolued to doe: wherin I would lett the king know both our wrongs and how little meanes wee had to seeke redresse by reason no man would speake for vs: which when I had done I must referr it to his Maiesties Iustice, and I was dischardged of my dutie to my Master. He answered that I was willfull and impatient: that he could not loose the Prince: that I was a stranger and knew not the Pace of this Court nor the king soe well as hee: that if I would vse him I must follow his Councell, which if I would doe hee was ready to assist mee: if I thought my owne wayes better, then hee would no way meddle. Soe I tould him I had alway depended on his aduise and deferred my Complaynt for his sake 4 Monthes: that I had sent the Prince woord I would Complayne was not without his Consent, having prefixed me a tyme when I should be free to doe soe, which was expired. So we agreed that I should come to his house within a day or two and ther Conclude what was to bee done in this business, promising to perfect all my demandes if I would haue Patience. Thus I was enforced to seeme Content, because I had noe way to

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seeke remedie; for presents I had none, and the king neuer takes any request to hart except it Come accompaned, and will in playne tearmes demand yt; which advantage the Prince takes, vrdging the Portugalles bringing of Iewelles, ballestes, and Pearles, with much disgrace to our English comodytye.

May 28.—Ther Came diuers Portugalles Merchannts from Goa with many rarietyes to sell the king and with rich Presents from the Vizeroy of Goa. This is yearly theyr Custome at this season to bring goodes, and so to goe for Agra and invest in Indico. While these presents are fresh the English are lesse respected.

May 29.—The Portugalles went before the king with a present, and a Ballas Ruby to sell that weighed, as was reported, 13 *tole*, 2 *tole* and a half beeing an ounce.[1] They demanded 5 *leckes* of *rupies*, but the king offered but one. Asaph chan is also theyr sollicitor, to whom they gaue a present of stones. They had diuers Rubies, ballaces, emrallds, and Iewelles sett to sell; which so much contented the king and his great men that we were for a tyme eclipsed. The Prince and the Iesuite fell out about presenting them, which the Prince desiered, but it was promised before to Asaph chan. Concerning the Portugalles Creditt here I euer made my Iudgment by report, but now experience showes me the difference made betweene vs and them; for they were sought after by euery body, wheras they seeme to buy our Comodityes for Almes. Besides, their Neighborhood and advantage to hinder that trade into the red sea, is euer more ready then ours to doe harme, because they are settled. So that only for a little feare we were entertayned, but for our trade or any thing wee bring, not att all respected.

May 31.—I went to Asaph chan to visitt him, but hee

[1] More exactly, the *tola* was about 187.5 grains troy. This would make the weight of the ruby a little over 5 ounces troy.

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was sick of a feuer, or rather of the Portugalles, from whom he daylie expected new guifts, and entertayned them with all kindnes. So I resolued to write, which the Next day I did. The Coppy is regestred.[1]

June 1.—I sent my lettre, but withall I had receiued aduise that the king gaue order I should not Come at Court. So that with my lettre I sent to knowe the truth and reason. Asaph chan read my lettre and made this answer: that it was true the king had soe Commanded: the Cause was for Certaine woordes I gaue the Prince when I was with the king about Iones my runnaway: therfore the Prince had intreated of the king to giue me no more audience: But that if I would accept of the 17,000 *Mamodies* offered by Zulpheckcarcon and Clear all demandes of the Prince and him, he would bring me to the king and I should haue all right and fauour due vnto me; for to presse the Prince for mony hee could not, for that hee had not to pay his souldiers, beeing now ready to goe for the warrs of Decan; with whom Zulpheckcarcon went, and when hee was gone it would bee hard to gett any thing, and therfore hee Councelled me to accept of this offer and make peace on all parts. This Motion was somewhat strange; but I saw what was the purpose by the offer of Peace; not any thing I had sayd to the Prince, but that I tould Asaph chan I could deliuer my Complaynts without him at the *Durbar* if hee forsooke vs, which the Prince preuented by hindering my Comming. And now was all way shutt up to write or speak to the king; only Abdalasan[2] offered me his Frendship, which I yet reserued, with due respect. I considered

[1] At f. 100 of the MS. It is a dignified remonstrance with Ásaf Khán for the non-fulfilment of his promises regarding Zúlfikár Khán's debt ("you ought to bee so noble as not to goe from your woord"). Roe reminds him also of "the articles of securitye for our better usage which your lordship hath promised mee."

[2] Later, Roe describes him as commander of the troops in the royal

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what pretence could be taken from any woordes spoken to the Prince, which were only these, of which I will neuer repent: I tould the Prince I was a kinges Ambassador, and that I thought it stood not with his honor to protect a villayne against mee, considering what I was the king his father had my Masters lettre to testefye: but that that was not all the discurtesy I and my Nation receiued from him. Then hee Chardged me that I drew my swoord on a seruant of his into whose hands he had deliuered my man within the Court; which the king demanded of me if it were true. I answered: noe. He said his sonne tould him soe. I replyed: notwithstanding, I would Mayntayne the Contrarie and for noe mans woord would forsake truth: that I was bredd in a Ciuill Court, and knewe better what became me. So the Man was called and some others that reported it, and it was prooued a lye; wherat the Prince was both ashamed and extreame Angerye. This beeing all that passed, my innocence made me Confident; for though Asaph chan to fright me sent me woord of this Complaynt of the Prince some few dayes Past, wishing me to take Care: we were but a few and might be soone subject to mischeefe; to which I answered the accusation was false, and that for any force I was resolued I could not loose my blood in a better Cause. These, I say, Considered, and the Case now standing on so desperate tearmes, I sent this answere: That I gaue him thanckes for his offer to bring me to the king, but that I was not so desierous as to doe that beseemed me not: if his Maiestie did Command vs out of the Countrie, wee were ready to goe: yet to showe how willing I was to Content the Prince, though I had naught to doe with the Merchanntes mony nor awthority to

June 2

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camp, and paymaster-general. He is probably the Khója Abúl Hasan who is frequently mentioned as a military leader by the historians of the time.

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Compound to their losse, yet seeing hee pretended the Prince wanted mony, if he would giue me his *firmaen* to deduct the 750 royalls of 8 receiued in mony out of the Custome this yeare if it were not all payd, or, if it were, out of the next Customes if goodes came a shoore, or ells to pay yt in Suratt at 4 Monthes end, I would accept of Zulpheckcarcons offer and make an end of this busines with the losse of 2,900 *Mamodies*, which was more then I Could answere: if the Prince would not doe this, I must doe my best to acquaint the king both with our wronges and the true Cause of Complaynt against mee, wherby his Majestie refused mee audience, only to hinder me in seeking Iustice: and soe departe the Cuntrye.

June 3.—I receiued answere that hee would Moue the Prince to pay that money: if Zulpheckcarcon had Confessed 17,000 *Mamodies* of his owne debt, it should bee performed: he desiered me to haue Patience: that he would make the Prince and mee frendes, and that the king should send for mee with more honor than euer, if I would end this controuersy.

June 4.—I returned answer that I would be sent for before I would Come, neyther would I euer come upon ill Conditions to loose our mony: that I expected if I Came some declaration from the king of better respect, for the worlds satisfaction; to accord with the Prince I was ready, and if he could accuse mee of any disrespect toward him, I would make such amendes as was fitt for vs both: if not, I hoped his highnes would not expect I should giue away the Companyes Monny for good lookes: The world was wyde enough: we gott not soe much by this trade as that wee would buy it with too much Injurye: The Mogull had promised the King of England that his sonne should be our protector,[1] which I doubted not but hee would bee vpon

[1] See the letter brought to England in 1616 by Steel (*First Letter-book*, p. 478).

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better experience; but that I would attend his answere some few dayes, and accordingly eyther resolue of longer residence or prepare to retyre myselfe and my Nation toward our Port to seeke better entertaynment.

June 5.—The Princes Child dyed,[1] wherat the king tooke great greefe, so that he Came not abroad, neyther the Prince nor any other great man. Soe that noe busines could be proceeded in.

June 6-8.—The king remooued to the Princes house, for that the child died in his, and Came not abroad; but gaue leaue for diuers to visitt him. It was reported he would keep in at the Princes 8 dayes, at Etemon Doulatt 8 dayes, at Hafaz Gemal 8, at Pocora 8, and then returne to his Custome.

June 9.—Mochrebchan[2] sent a *Banian* to my house with this Message: that the night before he had watched with the king, and tooke occasione to aske why the English Embassador Came not to visitt him. He answered hee knewe not. Wherat hee replyed hee hard I was much discontent. The king demanded the reason: that hee had euer vsed mee with more respect than any stranger, and neuer giuen me any Cause. To which hee answered that it was reported in the Towne and tould the Ambassador that his Maiestie had giuen order that hee should not Come at Court nor haue any more audience; to which the king replyed it was veary falce: he neuer gaue such order, nor knew not of any such, nor any occasion: that if I would Come to him I should be as wellcome as euer, and no man should dare to stay or forbidd mee. Soe hee

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[1] "A daughter of Sháh Jahán, whom Jahángír had brought up and loved more than his own life" (the *Intikhábi-Jahángír-Sháhi*, quoted in Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vi, p. 450). The chronicler goes on to say that this sad event happened on a Wednesday; and that for this reason and the fact that the Emperor Akbar had died on the same day of the week, Jahángír ever after disliked Wednesdays.

[2] See note on p. 42.

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demanded of the king if his Maiestie were pleased he should send me this Message, which hee Commanded him to doe. This was strange to mee, that any body should presume to forbidd me entrance without the kings knowledge, though I well sawe by Asaph chan it was Zulpheckcarcons busines that Putt this trick vpon mee by the Princes order and Asaph chans conniuence in the kings name. But withall I feard some trick in this or mistaking in the Message, for that I neuer made meanes to Mochrebchan, but had rather refused it; neyther did I suppose him for many reasons our frend. So I resolued the Next Morning to send Master Bidolph to him to vnderstand more certaintye.

June 10.—Master Bidolp went to Mochrebchan with Complements of thanckes for soe vndeserued a fauour; but that I well vnderstood not the *Banian*, but desiered to bee enformed from him of this passage. He began all the discourse, adding many good woordes that hee spake of mee: that I came from myne owne Country to see his Maiestie, and that it was very vniust without Cause to refuse me admittance to his Maiesties presence; wherat he said the king was very angry and Calld Asaph chan, demanding if hee had giuen such order, who protested no, that hee neuer heard of yt (yet it was hee that sent mee woord it was true). So his Maiestie gaue mee order (sayd hee) to bring the Embassador to him, whensoeuer he desird to come, and to send woord that I had beene abused, for he neuer had any thought to refuse seeing mee. So that whensoeuer I would visitt the king (which hee perswaded me to, for his Maiestie would take it kindly, though hee came not out), if I would send to his house he would goe and bring mee to him, and no man should dare to stopp mee. When I was fully resolued of the truth, I yet stayed from accepting this offer; for beeing vpon new termes of frendship with the Prince and Asaph chan,

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and pretending only to rely on him, I feard, if I tooke another way, they would become more virulent enemyes than euer; and this kindnes of Mochrebchans was but a flash, or if it Continued he had not power to effect all my busines. It was Asaph chan whom I must wholy recouer, and that faction, or stand on fickle tearmes. So I resolued to trie him fully and Clearly before I forsooke him; that I might Iustly say he left me first, and in my greatest necessitye.

This day Zulpheckcarcon, beeing by when this passd publiquely betweene the king and Mochrebchan concerning mee, and, as I suppose, seeing now that I could not be kept from the king with any trick, and fearing this would exasperate me to take vp the first oportunitie of Complaynt, came to Abrams the dutchman and offered frendship, sayeing the account was finished and that hee was ready to pay the 17,000 *Mamodies* offered for himselfe and his followers: and that the 750 Royalles of 8 were the Princes debt, which hee would Pay: so that he knew no Cause why we should not be freendes. I requested the Merchantes to goe speake with him, and that, if hee were Constant to this offer, I would accept it and finish all broyles vntill I had gotten better footing.

A warrant vnder my hand geuen to the Merchantes how they should deale with Zulpheckcarcon about his Debte.

First, I would haue demanded of Zulpheckcarcon in Generall what his offer is Concerning the finishing of the account and paying the debt.

If hee offer the 17,000 *Mamoodies* for all, comprising the Princes [debt?] and the 3 Cloathes ½ Newly mentioned: Then breake off all speech and vtterly refuse yt. If he offer the 17,000 *Mamoodies* for the rest of the goodes and require only a dischardge for them, giuing a note of his hand that the 750 royalls is the Princes debt, for which hee will eyther gett payment here or procure a dischardge for so much in the Custome at Suratt, or else to remayne answerable, then you shall accept yt. When you are agreed of the Summe and come to speake of the manner of payment, for which somme I would the agreement

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were in writting if it could bee procurd and signed by him, then yow may lett him know that you vnderstand that 3 Cloths and a halfe were deliuered to such at Suratt, and that it shalbe at his Choyse whether hee will pay for them here or to giue you his lettre to the debtor there that hee hath not satisfyed for yt, but that hee doth chardge it vpon them, requiring theyr present payment and giuing you such a Note or mentioning it in the quittance receiued, and then so much rateably shalbe abated here of the Summe agreed on: of these two propositions [I ?] only desire that you will presse him to a resolute answer, that I may vnderstand from himselfe his purpose, that I may accordingly proceed in the prosequution of Iustice.

June 11.—I sent to Asaph chan what Message I had Receued from Mochrebchan, but that I Could not Chainge my frendes, though I would acknowledg it a great Curtesie from the other, beeing both vndeserued and voluntary, desiering him to beeleeue the truth that I had not made any meanes to Mochrebchan to doe yt, but had only relyed on him, which hee might easily bee assured off by demanding him: that if hee pleased to lay asyde all Iealousy and to accomodate the difference betweene the Prince and mee, whose fauour I especially desiered, and to Continew the protection of our Nation, I was not so fickle to take euery occasion to forsake him, who had beene our ancient and best frend: and that I would attend a day or two that hee might bring me to the king, that no notice might be taken of any discontent betweene vs, which would perhapes, if the king asked the reason of this Chang, call many matters in question that were better passed ouer on all sides: desiering him to deale soe faierly as to send me his resolution, assuring him I would remayne his frend till hee did to openly reiect mee.

June 12.—Mochrebchan sent to mee to know if I would goe see the king; but for that hee was yet in the Princes howse I would not affront[1] him, attending vntill I had

[1] Meet. In *Hamlet* (iii, 1) the king arranges that the prince, "as't were by accident, may here affront Ophelia."

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answere from Asaph chan, whom I must not loose if I would stand here. Besides, I determined, before I went to him, to know whether any fitt reconciliation could bee effected betweene the Prince and mee, and that I might have satisfaction from Zulpheckcarcon without Complaynt, first using all faire means that were honest and became my Masters Ambassador to make smooth my way, which when I could not effect, I resolued to fly to a very round Complaynt, both of our publique wrongs and robberies committed vpon vs by the Gouernor, the Princes maynteyning him in yt, and Asaph Chans Negligence and falshood for the Princes sake, and lastly I would discouer the trick putt on mee to keepe mee from Court, to this end only, that I should not seeke Justice, which I would desier very roundly of the king, or lycence to depart with all my Nation.

This Night I received lettres from Suratt[1] of the receipt of the *firmaens* sent downe, which for a few dayes vseth to preuaile, and gott our goodes from the Customer and procured an agreement on all particulars; some difference in price, which was referred to Abram chan the Gouernor, then absent, our very good Frend. In this lettre I receiued great encouragment to putt the king to tryall for an absolute reformation and for new priuiledges, or to breake off the trade, the oportunitye beeing very good, for that many shipes were expected from the red sea this season and soe wee might dispute our Cause with aduantage. I Confesse, if it were myne owne priuat canse, I would neuer endure halfe those Iniuryes wee haue suffered; they are insupportable; the Prince beeing soe proud, and in such esteeme with his father, that nothing but Chastenínge can humble him. But I serue for a publique cause,

[1] See *Surat Letterbook*, 1616-17 (I. O. Records), under date of 26 May, 1616.

wher are diuers dispositions to please, diuers opinions to satisfye, and I know not how it wilbe construed that I dissolue that which was neuer tyed; all the factors here seeming discontent, and write resolutly, but if this Councell did not please in England, I cannot tell whether they would change aduise, and cast all on mee, *More vulgi, suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes.*[1] This is one of those Councelles that cannot bee praysed vntill they bee Acted; so that necessitye shall Compell mee, and then it will Iustefye mee. But this I dare affirme, if their Shippes be taken but once in 4 years ther shall come more cleare gayne, without losse of honor, then will aduance in seauen years by trade; and nothing is vnjust in retribution and returne of the Injuryes done vnto vs.

Ther is a resolution taken that Sultan Caronne shall goe to the Decan Warres and the day prefixed, having Consulted all the *Bramans.*[2] Prince Paruis is Called home, whom it is reported wrote his father that if hee would send his elder brother[3] hee would obey, but to dishonor him by imploying this, he would first fall on him and after finish the warr. All the Capptayens, as *Channa chana*, Mahobet chan,[4]

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[1] "In the fashion of the vulgar, each one imputing to others his own transgression."—Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii, 44.

[2] *I.e.*, Bráhman astrologers, of whom there were always many at court. "The Great Mogol puts so much confidence in his Astrologers that he will not undertake a journey nor yet resolve to do anything besides of the least consequence, unless his wizards tell him it is a good and a prosperous hour to begin and set upon such an undertaking; and at the very instant he hath his directions from them he sets upon the thing he undertakes and not before" (Terry, p. 236). See also Bernier's *Travels* (Constable's edn., pp. 161, 244, 245); and compare the entry under date of March 3rd, 1617.

[3] Sultan Khusrú.

[4] Mahábat Khán (Zamáná Beg) is a familiar figure in the history of the times. Son of a Kábulí named Ghayúr Beg, he had been a personal attendant of Jahángír when Prince, and upon the latter's accession he was made paymaster of the royal household. He rose steadily in the emperor's favour, and Roe specially notes (see pp. 200, 217) how highly he was regarded. When, in 1623, Sháh Jahán rebelled against his father, the conduct of the war was entrusted to Mahábat Khán, who brought it to a successful conclusion. Soon after

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chan John,[1] refuse to stay if this Tyrant come to Command, so well he is beloued. It is true all men awe him more then the king Now that hee is to receiue the Armie. The king Cannot be remooued from his resolution to send him: so that his sudeyne departure 22 dayes from this present must hasten mee to finish this busines and to know a resolution; for after his departure with his minione Zulpheckcarcon there is no hope to recouer a penny, nor any Iustice against him.

June 13.—I Receiued lettres from Amadavaz, signifying that the Course I tooke with the Gouernor by Asaph chans lettre had soe farr prevayled that the 500 *rupies* was at sight payd, all manner of frendship offered, a new house or whatsoeuer was wanting. Concerning the *firmaen* sent for restitution of Custome taken the year past at Cambaya and Barooch, They are offered that of Baroch back, and all kyndnes from the Gouernor of Cambaya, promising to take such order next yeare as shall preuent all vnkyndnes. I answered this packett and aduised to accept it, though neuer so little: the example of restitution was more then the mony.

June 14 and 15.—The king yet kept at the Princes house.

June 16.—The Merchannts went according to my order to Zulpheckcarcon, wher, after much dispute too and fro and many complaynts of vnkindnes against mee, in conclusion hee denyed to pay 17,000 *mamoodies* promised,

(1626), the intrigues of the empress threatening his ruin, he seized the person of Jahángír and held him prisoner for a considerable period. He then allied himself with his former opponent, Sháh Jahán, who in a short time succeeded to the throne. Subsequently, Mahábat Khán was entrusted with the government of the Dekhan. He died in 1634.

[1] Khán Jahán Lódí, who was, like Mahábat Khán, of Afghán origin, held important commands, and at the time of the death of Prince Parwíz had charge of the troops in the Dekhan. Distrusting Sháh Jahán's intentions towards him, he rebelled in 1629, and allied himself with the King of Ahmadnagar; but the confederates were defeated, and Khán Jahán slain in January, 1631.

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making New reckonings that the Prince had this, others that, and for his owne debt remayned but 3,000 *mamoodies*: but to finish for all and to haue a generall release, hee offered 12,000 *Mamoodies*, objecting still the 1,000 *Mamoodies* of Master Sadlers account,[1] without naminge for what: or else to stay the Comming up of the Iudge of the Custom house, and so to pay whatsoeuer he would say was taken. But this delay I durst not abide, for that his departure was suddeine now. In my last aduise from Suratt they Confesse Master Saddlers debt was mistaken (yet they chardge some 260 *rupees* by particular for trifles): and concerning the 750 rialles formerly Charged to the Custome house, and beeing confessed by the Princes officers to bee receiued here, I, as was reason, euer demanded restitution; but in this second they write that they haue come to account with the Customer and are agreed on all particulars, without once mentioning the Royalles. So that I Concluded that mony was found in the Custome house and I had wrongfully demanded it, though without faulte, by Socoralles mistaking. So I knew not what to say in this uncertainty; Yet I had rather aske to much then too little; Therfore they still demand it. Zulpheckcarcon answered hee neuer tooke that mony away, but that it rested still in the Custome howse, and were not those sent the Prince; but beating this question, at last hee said those royalles sent vp were the 2,000 *Mamoodies* Paid in royalles to him for licence to transport vp our two Carauans of Cloth,[2] hereby confessing the bribes playnly; and vpon examination wee found the summes to agree, no more beeing receiued: which, Seeing that I heard not one

[1] Richard Sadler was entertained in January, 1614, went out in Downton's fleet, and was appointed a junior factor at Surat. It would seem that he had died before this date, and no one could supply particulars of his claim, which was evidently for a matter of private trade.

[2] See the entries under March 10th and April 10th, 1616.

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word from Suratt of the 750 Royalls, I resolued that my opinion was true that the mony was found and allowed below; so that I gaue ouer that Clayme, and fell to a reckoninge apart of goodes only Chardged to Zulpheck-carcon, which beeing 19,900 *Mamoodies* and Master Saddlers 800 mistaken: his offer of 17,000 *Mamoodies*, considering price of Cloth insisted on, and many trifles of priuat mens hard too proue, and the necessitye of a peace with the Prince, they offered him a generall acquittance for the mony by him agreed on. But hee then as absolutely refusd it; yet some tymes hee was Content, sometyme not, soe that noe Conclusion could bee made. But he desiered a new reckoning and to pay his owne and assigne vnder his hand who should pay the remayner. This was a tedious course to seeke out money from diuers men, and they as absolutely refusd yt: all was taken by his authoritye and wee would seeke no further. This was the error of the first account sent vp, for had not the 750 royalls beene Charged and Master Sadlers 1,000 *Mamoodies* (both mistaken), I had accepted his first offer of 17,000 *Mamoodies* with little losse, and finished all long since with good will and had avoyeded much trouble and the Princes displeasur; but seeing one stood doubtfull, the other directly charged, I could not yeild to loose 6 or 7,000 *Mamoodies*, for I could not haue one *Pice* without a generall quittance as well agaynst the Prince as the Gouernor and all vnder him. But yet hee seemed very desierous of frendship, taking much vnkindnes at mee for bitternes against him. They answered: hee deserued it, for his violence vsed to our Nation: but that which I tooke woorst was his slight and base woordes giuen of my King, my Lord and Master. He replyed: hee spake not ill of him, but, as was the Custome of this Countrye, hee only magnifyed his owne: for his hard vsage and discurtesyes to our Nation, hee sware he had expresse order from the

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Prince in 4 seuerall *firmaens*, not only to doe all hee did, but to turne vs out and suffer vs no trade. They answered they could neuer beleue yt, for that they were in presence when I demanded of the Prince if it were true (for that it was so published at Suratt) and hee forswoore it openly, giuing it vnder his hand and seale that it was a lye.[1] He replyed with many oathes it was true, and to satisfye their incredulitye and to dischardge himselfe, he asked if they would beleue the *firmaens:* so hee sent for them, and caused one to bee read before our interpreter, wher the Prince gaue express order not to suffer our goodes to passe out of towne but to keepe them in the Custome howse, and ther to giue leaue to sell and when they had traded to Command all aboord and to depart, forbidding any longer residence, and that if anything came downe not traded for in towne hee should not suffer it to goe aboord; with many other Clauses of vexation & wrong to be done vs. Now, sayd hee, you see my innocence, and that I executed my Commission with fauour. They answered it could not be denyed, but that now the Prince had giuen mee a *firmaen* for our residence, Iustice, and good reception. It is true, said hee, yet shall the next Gouernor use yow woorse, for, whatsoeuer the Ambassador can procure outwardly, the Gouernor should haue advise vnderhand how to execute his Masters will; which I know well. But, said hee, I am sorry for any thing is past, and if your Ambassador will make frendship and force me to pay no more then due, I will endeauor to reconcile him and your Nation to the Prince. They answered I was ready to embrace peace, but would not giue away the companies mony. He replyed 3 or 4,000 *Mamoodies* would not make vs rich nor him poore. But of this his weaknes, to discouer his Masters secreettes and the Princes double and

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[1] See pp. 115 and 162.

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vnderhand basenes, I will make aduantage off if wee come not to composition. Now is euidently seene the miscery of our estate and the Princes faith. Who can bee secure, or resolue wisely, when outwardly wee shall haue fayre woordes, *firmaens* and all desire, and in secreett aduise to wrong and abuse vs?

June 17.—I sent both to Hoja Nazzan, who had finished the account for both and had offered the 17,000 *Mamoodies* in his name,[1] and to Mochrebchan, before whom the Gouernor was Content to pay it: to lett them know for the Princes sake and peace I was ready to accept the offer made, but that Zulpheckcarcon was started backe and would not pay it: that if they would tye him to his woord, I was content to be the looser: if not, I would goe instantly with full complaynt to the king, wherin hee would wrong his Master, whose name would come in question many wayes. Hoja Nassan answered he should not flye from his woord: though hee had not confessed by particular so much debt, yet in grose he was content to pay it, and soe this day hee would meete our Merchantes there and procure his *Chop*. This day the king remooued to Asaph Chans to moorne there.

June 18.—Mochrebchan sent to me to Come to Court: that my longer absence would bee ill taken: that his Maiestie did expect mee: and that hee which would effect any busines with the king must bestow some labor in visiting him. For Zulpheckcarcon hee answered that hee was agreed to pay vs 17,000 *Mamoodies* and that hee was a base fellow to refuse it: that hee would Compell him to satisfye vs, or pay it him selfe and tell the king that hee did it on the others woord, and soe take the debt vpon him.

Asaph chan returned me answere of my last Message: that hee was most reddy to doe mee or my Nation any

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[1] See p. 176.

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Curtesye, as he had euer: that on the Morrow the king went to Hauaz Iemall and returned the Next day, when he would send to mee to come to his house and goe with mee to the king, and that all matters past should bee forgotten: wishing mee to take no notice that my absence was any other then voluntary: desiering me to beleeue he had twenty tymes more Creditt and affection to doe my busines then Mochrebchan: that the next day he would himselfe carry me to the Prince and fully reconcile vs, and so accord all differences that I should proceed in my busines without Crosses or lett: and that I should haue reformation in all my pretences: aduising mee to accept of Zulpheckcarcons offer, and that for a little losse I should not breake off, now that all matters were so neare composed: and so desiering me not to hould him in Iealousy, for hee was euer as much my frend as he durst declare against the Prince.

The king commanded one of his brothers sonnes, who was made a Christian in pollicye[1] to bring him into hatred with the people, to goe stricke a lyon on the head, which was brought before the king; but hee beeing afrayd refusd yt. Soe the king bad his youngest sonne[2] to goe touch the lyon, who did so without any harme. Wheratt the

[1] Hawkins says (p. 438): "At my being with him he [the Mogul] made his brother's children Christians. . . . . upon the prophecie of certaine learned Gentiles, who told him that the sonnes of his body should be disinherited and the children of his brother should raigne; and therefore he did it to make these children hateful to all Moores, as Christians are odious in their sight." See also Bernier (p. 287), and Roe's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 30 Oct., 1616 (given later). The youth referred to was probably a son of Prince Dányál, Jahángír's youngest brother.

[2] Prince Shahryár, who was now about eleven years of age. Probably the lion had been tamed. Tavernier (Ball's edn, i, p. 80) describes the process. Terry mentions (p. 197) that a tame lion was kept at court: "The Mogol, at my being there, had a very great Lion (I often saw) which went up and down amongst the people that frequented his Court, gently as a dog and never did hurt, only he had some keepers which did continually wayt upon him."

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king tooke occasion to send his Nephew away to a prisson were hee is neuer like to see day light.

June 19.—The King remooued the Prince and all the Court to Hauas gemall.

June 20.—The Merchannts went to Socarolloes, before whom they were referrd to make agreement and Conclusion with Zulpheckcarcon : but hee was gone with his Master. His *Scriuano* mett, who answered hee was that day to goe after him to bring eyther his *Chop* to Hoja Nasson for soe much to receiue in Suratt, or ready mony. So that I hope this quarrell is at an end.

June 21.—I dispatched lettres to Bramport to Mahobet chan[1] to desire a Cómmand to his lieutennant at Baroch to giue our Merchants entertaynment and trade at his Port and to suffer them to hiere a house for their residence, and to procure his fauour for them in dooing them Iustice and right ; also I signifyed that his officers had the last yeare exacted certayne mony at the passadge of our goodes to Suratt which was not due ; for which I craued restitution and redresse for tymes to Come. This I did, for that I knew not to what inconuenience the Prince might driue vs by his underhand dealing, for though now I was in hope to make a frendship with him, who was lost long before my arriuall, yet I could not discerne his hart and had experience of his falshood ; and therfore would prepare a retrayt in necessitye. Besides I knew that any such doubt or report would startle him;[2] for though he would that wee

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[1] See f. 109 of the MS.

[2] With this end in view, Roe had desired the factors at Surat to make a show of moving to Broach. They accordingly informed the Governor and others that this was their intention. However, nobody believed them, although "for respect" a hope was expressed that they would not think of removing. Later on, Kerridge, with the help of an English sailor, sounded the river at Broach, and found it very shallow and treacherous. Any anchorage there would be much exposed to wind, and the surrounding district seemed to them very barren and sparsely inhabited. This report satisfied Roe that the proposed change was impracticable.

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were wholy banished, yet hee would not that wee quitted his Port and seated soe neare him, wherby he should haue no profitt by vs, and yet the Portugall equally hindered. Lastly, if ther may bee found any roade for our shipes, the place is fitter in respect that all the Cloth and Cotten yearne sent home is bought there, besides Carriadges from thence to Suratt and all other Comodities sent from aboue passe that Towne; so that both the way to our shipes and the duties of Baroch would bee saued; and, which is noe small respect, the Gouernor is not only a frend to our Nation but a man full of honor and liberallity, scorning all base gettings and of all men in most high fauour with the king, beeing his only minion; in whose presence Asaph chan is but a shaddow.[1] The solicitation of this I Committed to Master Banghame.[2]

June 23.—The king returned to this house, and sate out according to his usuall Custome.

June 24.—Asaph Chan sent to me to Come to the King; but I refusd that day, except I might haue a *Chop* to all porters, or some officer sent to Conduct mee, least any affront should bee offered by base people. This day I receiued from Hoja Nassan a particular of 17,000 *mamoodies* agreed on by Zulpheckcarcon, wherof part of the debt was the Princes, part others. Soe I sent to know what order I should haue for the mony. Zulpheckcarcons *scriuano* answered that I should not trouble my selfe further: that hee had order for my satisfaction, and was procuring the Princes *Chop* for his part, which had passd two seales, and was Collecting the rest, and that he would finish it all in a few dayes.

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[1] Kerridge, writing to the Company in March 1615 (*O. C.*, No. 270), said much the same about Mahábat Khán, characterising him as "the kinges greatest mynyon and of longest Contynuance, of greatest powre and lybertye of all the nobyllyty."

[2] See p. 82 *n.* As there stated, Bangham was cape merchant at Burhánpur, where Mahábat Khán then was.

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The Prince had a sonne borne,[1] and now beeing preparing for this warr all mens eyes were on him, eyther for flattery, gayne or envy, Non for loue. He receiued 20 *lackes* of *rupies* toward his Chardge (200,000 *li.* starling) and began to deale mony liberally. But Notwithstanding this show of his fathers affection and greatnes, a Chan perswaded the king that the voyadge would be dangerous in respect of the Prince Paruis, whose honor was soe wounded that he would not returne without reuenge. The king replyed: lett them fight: I am well content; and he that prooues himselfe the better Captaine shall pursue the warr.

June 25.—Asaph chan sent one of his Cheife seruants to the Court gate to attend mee, but I had resolued I would bee sent for. So hee, perceiuing I stayd long, doubted that I would not Come, caused him to Come a foote in hast to fetch mee. So I went and was receiued by the King after the ould manner, no difference, without taking any Notice of my absence. The Prince bowed himselfe. And soe I stayd his Maiesties goeing in without farthar speech. Asaph chan and diuers others saluted mee and I returnd.

June 26.—I sent to Asaph chan that as I was at an agreement with Zulpheckcarcon, payment only wanted, which was most materiall: that therfore if hee would accord all other matters with the Prince, I was ready to visitt him. I heard noe answer.

June 27.—I went to visitt Mochrebchan to thancke him for his voluntary kindnes. Wee had long speech. The effect was hee sought to withdrawe mee from Asaph chan offering to doe all my busines, in hope of the first sight of raretyes from England; telling me that it was Asaph chan

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[1] Shujá, his second son. He was afterwards a competitor for the throne, but was defeated and took refuge in Arakan, where he perished (1660).

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that putt that tricke vpon mee, for when the king called him to know who had forbidd mee the Court, he answered hee knew not indeed: that hee had giuen order I should not enter the *Guzelchan* without especiall leaue, for that it was his Maiesties priuacye, wher were none admitted but those that were his nearest seruantes, & for that his Maiestie often did vse to drincke there, to be barbd,[1] and such other businesses as were vnfitt for strangers to see: & that the Persian Ambassadors neuer came without sending a day before: but that other order hee neuer gaue, nor knew of any. I answered that I did accept his loue in the highest degree: that Asaph chan was as Iealous of me for his sake, but that I could not absolutely quitt him first: both the articles I demanded were referrd to him and remaynd in his hand, so that I was tyed to him, and also, I knew well that if he had no affection to doe mee good yet hee had power to crose mee: that I was resolued to procure and hould euerybodyes loue and not to runne myselfe into open factions: though in my hart and inward affections I could make difference of frendes, as I did of him, from whom I had found so free and Noble kindnes. But really I trusted neither; the one was sower, eager of bribes, proud and knew his owne strength, the other fickle, flattering, and loued to haue his power beleeued to be more then it was; but neyther Card for vs longer then some end of their

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[1] "An incidental remark in the Persian Dictionary entitled *Bahár-i-Ajam* informs us that Sher Sháh wore his hair, *more gentis*, in curls. As the drying of the curls after the morning bath took some time, Sher Sháh transacted public business in the *ghusul-khánah*, the bath and dressing-room. The custom, with some modifications, was retained by the Chaghtái emperors, during whose reigns the morning, and even the evening, audience-rooms were called *ghusul-khánah*" (Professor Blochmann, in *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. xliv, pt. 1, p. 297).

"Barb" is the verb, now obsolete, from which "barber" is derived. —"Shave the head and tie the beard: and say it was the desire of the penitent to be so barb'd before his death" (*Measure for Measure*, iv, 2).

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owne enticed them. Soe I playd at their game, held correspondence with both, and resolued to vse both as long as I could, and to quitt him, when I must needes, that could doe mee least good. Hee asked mee what then he should doe for mee. I answered Continew his affection to our Nation: and for my particular, I desird him to remember my seruice to his Maiestie and to recommend our cause in generall termes and to signifye to his Maiestie that I well sawe our Ignorance in tymes past of what Comodityes were fitt for his Maiestie had made our trade fastidious, but that if I knew his Maiesties Mynd he should see how able wee were to serue him. Hee replyed hee would doe it; but withall he said wee brought too much Cloth and ill swoordes and almost nothing else: that euery body was weary of yt; that hee aduised wee should forbeare two or 3 yeares, and insteed therof, seeing our shippes went to China[1] and Japan, to bring all the raretyes of those parts (which were more acceptable here then Gould), and from our Countrie the best Cloth of Tissue and richest stuffs of silke, gould and siluer that wee had, but especially good quantety of Arras for hangings, saying that the king would buy for a *Leeck* or two of *rupies*, and euery great man in proportion. And this, I thinck, is true, and would serue for two years. I replyed wee Considered this, but the Merchanntes sought proffitt: that those things were deare with vs, and the Chardg of bringing halfe as much as the goodes: and that wee feared few would Come to the Price, for that our best Clothes of gould and tissue were woorth 100 *rupies* a *Cobde*[2] with vs, and soe meaner to 40 *rupies*, and ther was

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[1] The English had not yet opened a direct trade with China; they, however, procured Chinese products from the junks that frequented Bantam, Patani, and other ports.

[2] A cubit or ell (Port. *covado*). It varied in length, not only with the locality, but also with the material it was used to measure. At Surat they used a greater covad for measuring English cloth and a smaller one

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Arras from 20 *rupies* to 150 *rupies* a sticke (much about a *Cobdee*): so that if I should aduise of such things, they would answer that I had little skyll in those matters; but that if his Maiestie would make a bill of what sorts and conditions he desired, and what quantetye and what rates, and sett his *Chop* to it that hee would take yt, and such other great men as desired the like, I would send into England and might then wright with Confidence; and I doubted not but his Maiesties will should bee in all things accomplished. He answered he would acquaynt him with my motion, which would highly Content him, and cause a bill to bee made and sealed; and for his part hee would giue mee another. Wee had some speech about the Prince, whom hee rayled at freely: that hee neuer went to him, nor had power to doe mee kyndnes there: but that, when hee was departed, hee could not harme mee. I answered as long hee had the Gouerment of Suratt his fauour was as Consequent to vs almost as his Maiesties, and that I had had a bitter experience of his affection notwithstanding his faire pretences, besides the bearing vp of Zulpheckcarcon. Hee replyed hee knew it well, and would shortly tell mee how it should bee remedyed: for Zulpheckcarcon, hee desired mee not to stirr nor send after soe base a fellow: that in 4 dayes hee would see the mony paid. Wee exchanged many complements and many professions. At last hee prest vpon mee too bottles of Muske, that were sent him for a present from his gouerment, held aboue 100 ounces,

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for calicoes and silks. The former is variously stated as 35 ins., 35½ ins., and 36 ins.; the latter as 26¼ ins., 26½ ins., and 27 ins. There is a curious entry in Elkington's note-book (1614) in the I. O. Records (*Fact. Misc.*, 25) to the effect that the greater "covett" was "at first but 33 ynches, *but yearly they augment it as thay list*, broad Cloath being onely measured by it; and think was first made at the Comming of English ships." From this it would appear that the variation was an ingenious device of the native dealers to get more broadcloth for their money.

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woorth 500*li.*, with much importunitye, but I refusd so great an obligation, least for that Cause I should bee tyed to him to the prejudice of the Company; for hee would expect some recompence. I cannot bragg of this follie, but it is a vice that few in my place are guiltie off; but I had resolued, rich or poore, to doe nothing unwoorthy the Honor of my Master nor the good name of an honest man. The king this euening went to Hauas Iemall.

June 29.—At night the king returned.

June 30.—I went to visitt Abdala Hassan, from whom I had receiued a former kindness vnexpected,[1] for that wee were mere strangers. This obseruance I was enforced too, partly by gratitude, but principally by necessitye. *Obsequium amicos parit.*[2] I needed them, and to the Markett I could not goe (for all are to be sould) for want of guiftes. Yet hee is noe taker and I tooke knowledge of yt, to his Joy. Hee offered me much kindnes, eyther to speake to the king or deliuer any wrighting. I accepted of yt generally; but at first would not engage him into busines, beeing yet dependant on Asaph chan. He answered they were all one and that I could not keepe a better way. I replyed I had not much to aske the king: my principall busines (which I had in command from his Maiestie my Souerayne) was the procuring better priuiledges for the Continuance of loue and Commerce betweene both Nations, which demandes had long remaynd in Asaph chans handes, to whom they were referrd: If I had answere of that, my busines after would passe with more ease, for that, if it pleasd the King to seale, confirme and publish those articles, I presumd no man would dare to infringe them, and that our Merchannts should trade securely, free from violence and Iniurye and then I should haue no

[1] See p. 184.
[2] "Obsequiousness procures friends:" a well-known quotation from Terence (*Andriae*, I, i, 41).

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cause to offend any by Complaynt, and should haue little els to doe but to wayt on the king and visitt my frendes: if his Maiestie vtterly refusd them and the Alliance and leauge of the king of England, I had noe more to doe but to returne vnto my Countrie: I had dischardged my dutie. Hee answered I should not feare but that the king would Continew a frend to his Maiestie and our Nation, and that noe reasonable demand would bee refused mee. I replyed I had expected long and saw fewe effects, and what had passed last yeare at Suratt and in many parts I was sensible off: but that for some respects I would not violently pursue Iust Complaynts. Hee said hee vnderstood mee: that the Prince was sorrie for what was past. Demanding if Zulpheckcarcon had payd his mony, I answered no: wee were agreed (to our losse), mony only wanted. He said hee would that night acquaynt the Prince and procure present payment. Hee is Captaine of all the souldiers entertayned at Court, and Treasurer to all armyes. He entertayned me Courteously, with few Complements but much ciuilitye. Wee sate to see his souldiers shoote in bowes and Pieces. Most of them with a single bullett did hitt the Marke, beeing a hand-breadth in a Butt. Wee had some discourse of our vse of such weapons; and soe I departed.

July 2.—I went to visitt the king and to moue him about our Articles, if oportunitye fauored. He only bowed him selfe at my Comming, and was poseest with much busines, for that the Princes goeing for Decan was altered, at least deferrd. He had gott mony to pay his debts, and his warr was ended.

July 5.—I sent to Asaph chan to know a resolution concerning my demandes, and upon what tearmes I stood with the Prince, for that I knew if he remaynd our enemye Suratt would bee no port for vs: that our shippes were ready in 3 monthes to arriue: that it concerned mee

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to know whertoo I should trust, for vnlesse I might haue our residence confirmed and those priuiledges granted which I had demanded, and eyther assurance of frendship or at least Iustice from the Prince, I must take my leaue. He replyed hee would that night speake with the Prince, and in 4 dayes answer mee absolutely.

July 7.—He sent me woord that concerning my propositions for Priuiledges and the Kings Command for redresse in all our former Iniuryes, that that day or the morrow he would deliuer it to the seale: They were accorded too[1] amply, and in few dayes I should haue them: that he had conferrd with the Prince, who was very willing to bee our frend, and if I would come to him I should be very wellcome, and whatsoeuer I could require reasonably at his handes should bee performed.

July 9.—I went to visitt the Prince but sent before, who returned I should bee very welcome. He expected a present, but when none appeard, hee proceeded to busines; and supposing I would iterat Zulpheckcarcons delayes openly, his Officer Socarolla came to mee and said for the Princes Part of the debt wee should haue a *Chopp* for Suratt whensoeuer I would send, and that Zulpheckcarcons remayner should bee payd ready mony by order from him. So that if the Merchannts will follow the getting it in (in which their is little done), they may be satisfied; for my part is ended. I haue made agreement and deuided the debt, and procured order for payment, but cannot runn vp and downe to *Banians* and officers, in whose handes now it rests.

July 10.—I receiued aduise from Agra that not one *Cobde* of Cloth would sell but at veary lowe rates; they lay the faulte on the last yeares sales; for swoordes no man would looke on them, and Hydes not at the price they

[1] To.

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Cost in England. Concerning the debt of the Gouernors brother[1] left by Master Young,[2] they first sollicited it, but could not procure a penny; then they made vse of my lettre mentioned to the Gouernor, who sent presently to Command satisfaction. Master Shalbanck was imployed to him, beeing a daies Iourney out of Towne. Ther hee[3] pretendes Master Browne offered him abatement, or els that hee would retourne some Cloth. So that Master Shalbancke finished with him with the losse of about 90 *rupies*, for which hee excuses himselfe vpon Browne and vpon their Neede, that, having not sould one penny-woorth of goodes in 3 monthes, they had not mony lefte to pay horsemeat; for that before his Comming he had Command from mee for example sake not to doe yt. If I had the assistance of one honest sufficient man, that loued the Companyes profitt better then their owne ease or pleasure, or had had that authoritie ouer them which was requisite, or that it had not been published to them that I had none, I would haue Caused many things to haue had another face.

July 11.—I receiued from Amadavaz the long expected wyne; one runlett 3 quarters full, conteyning 6 gallons and one glase, the other runlett was leaked. It was sowred with long keeping; yet it came fittly for my new reconcilements, and will serue turne.

July 12.—I sent to the *Guzelchan* one Case of Aligant. It was somewhat sower, yet soe much in request that it was receiued with good acceptance. I sent such excuse with it as was requisite.

July 13.—In the Morning I sent Sultan Carronne 3 bottles of Aligant, and a lettre concerning the Portugalls,

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[1] See p. 178.

[2] Robert Young, who seems to have gone out in Downton's fleet. He was principally employed at Agra and Lahore; and returned to England in 1626.

[3] The debtor.

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the differences betweene our trade and theirs, and to procure all the Customes in and out to farme for the Companyes vse. The Coppie is registred. The Prince Caused (as is the barbarous custome, all busines passing in publique) the lettre to bee twice read by his secretary, and often interrupted it with speech to him ; in the end sent woord that at night, when hee Came downe, hee would read it himselfe, and consider yt, and that I should receiue answere from Merze Socoralla.

To Sultan Caronne.[1]

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 96.)

1st Maye, 1616.

Most Royall Prince,

I Cannot but confesse and acknowledge the great Justice you haue done our Nation in the debts and extortions of Zulpheckcarcon, wherof I will speedily aduise my lord the most mighty King of England, that his Maiestie may render your Highnes condigne thanckes and that your fame and renowne may be knowne in all parts. But I cannot but greeue when I consider that your highnes good opinion and grace toward vs is auerted by some misfortune or misinformation, which by many Cercumstances is manifested to mee, Principally in that fauour your highnes hath declared to the Portugall, our enemyes. Butt if your highnes were pleased to regard the differance betweene our proceedings and theires, that wee only desire open trade for all Nations, to the enriching of your highnes kingdomes and the advancing of your Customes, wheras they haue euer sought to keepe in subjection your subiects, suffering none to trafique but them selues and exacting dutyes for licence to passe vpon your seas, contrary to all honor and Justice, calling their King in Europe King of India. In proofe wherof our readines to embrace Peace & their obstinacy in yt is sufficient wittnes ; though theyr force is no way terrible to

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[1] Copies of this letter, in English and Persian, are among the I. O. Records (*O. C.*, Nos. 360-1). The Persian copy is endorsed by Roe "copy of my lettre to the Prince, 1 May, 1616." As this date appears on all the copies, it is evidently not a slip ; but it seems equally clear that the above is the letter which was presented to the Prince on July 13th. We must therefore suppose that this endeavour to "settle a better opinion in the Prince of our nation" (p. 168) was written on May 1st, but that its delivery was postponed, probably on account of the renewed hopes of an amicable arrangement with Zúlfikár Khán.

The difference in tone between this and Roe's previous letter to the Prince (p. 139) is significant.

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vs, that are so poowrfull in shipping that all Europe is not able to equall his Majestie therin.

And if your highnes suppose that the Portugall hath or would bring eyther more raretyes or more profitt to your port, I dare affirme your highnes hath receiued wrong enformation. First, for curious and rare toyes, we haue better meanes to furnish your highnes then any other, our kingdome abounding with all arts and our shipping trading into all the world, wherby there is nothing vnder the sunne which wee are not able to bring, if we knew your highnes pleasure, what you did most affect; wherof whensoeuer you shall please to giue a writing, you shall haue experience of our readines to doe you seruice. Secondly, for profitt, our kingdome is Naturally the most fructfull in Europe and the most abundant in all sorts of armes, cloth, and whatsoeuer is necessary for mans vse; besides which, your Highnes I suppose knowes not wee yeerly bring into your Port in ready mony 50,000 Rialls[1] of Eight, for which wee only carry away Callicoes and Indicoes, to the enriching of your highnes kingdomes with siluer.

And that your highnes may better perceiue what profitt doth arise by our trade at Suratt, and that hereafter we may not bee vexed by officers at the *Alfandica*, wherby we shalbe enforced to trouble your highnes with daylie Complaynts, wee are desierous to rent our Customes of your highnes, both in and out, and will yearly pay your highnes at one payment 12,000 *Rupies* for our sayd Customes, So that your highnes wilbe pleased to dischardge vs of all other duties and troubles; which I suppose is a farr greater summe then euer your officers made you any account. And in all mattres wherin your Highnes shall Command, you shall fynd our Nation most ready to obey you, and myselfe in particular will not omitt all occasion to doe you seruice, wherin I doubt not I could some wayes giue your highnes content, if I had oportunitye to speake with you. Your Highnes Noble Nature will excuse my bouldnes, and that I wayte not on you myselfe, for that for want of language I could not so well expresse my desires, as by writing. The great Creator of Heauen and earth blesse you and multiply on your head all felicitye and Honor.

To doe you seruice,
Tho. Roe
the English Ambassador.

At night I went to the *Durbarr* to visitt the king. So soone as I came in hee sent Asaph chan to mee: that hee

[1] There is probably some exaggeration here. On Roe's own testimony (p. 121), Keeling's fleet had brought but 43,572 rials, and this was for Bantam as well as Surat. According to the factors (p. 166 *n.*), only about 20,000 rials were landed at the latter place.

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heard I had in my house an excellent Paynter, and desiered hee might see some of his worke. I replyed, according to truth, that ther was none but a young man, a Merchant, that for his exercise did with a pen draw some figures, but very meanly, far from the Arte of painting. The king replyed that I should not feare that hee would take any man from mee by force: that hee would neyther doe me Injurie nor suffer any other; and prayed that hee might see that man and his woorke, whatsoeuer it was. I replied I had no such doubte of his Maiestie, and for his satisfaction I would bring him to the *Guzellchan* with such toyes as hee had, which perhaps was an Eliphant, or a deare, or such like in paper. At this answere the king bowed himselfe; and returnd that if I desiered an Eliphant or the figure or any other thing in his Cuntrie, I should not buy it nor seeke any other way but to him: that whatsoeuer I had a minde too, hee would giue mee: and that I should freely speake to him, for he was my frend. I made a reuerence and answered that I humblie thancked his Maiestie: Eliphantes were of no use to mee, neyther was it the Custome of my Nation, especially of my place, to aske anything: if his Maiestie gaue mee but the woorth of a *rupy*, I would receiue it and esteeme it as a marke of his fauour. He replyed that hee knewe not what I desiered: that ther were some things in his Countrie rare in myne, and that I should not make daynty to speake to him, for hee would giue mee such things as should bee most wellcome: and that I should bee Cherfull, for that hee was a frend to our Nation and to mee, and would protect vs from any Injurye; but desiered that I would that night come to the *Guzellchan* with the youth that Paynted and his Picktures. So Asaph chan wishd me to send home to fetch him to his house, whither if I would goe and stay with him vntill the king Came abroad I should bee veary wellcome, which I promised. I neuer receiued so much

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grace and fauour from the King as at this tyme, which all men tooke notice off, and accordingly altered their fashions toward mee. Especially it hapned well that the Iesuite was made interpreter of all this by the kings appoyntment.

When the king rose, I went to Asaph Chans house (hauing sent for Master Hewes,[1] the supposed Paynter), Asaph chan beeing gone somwhat before. I found him satt on a poore Tarras in the ayre on a sheete with other great men. His Porters stayed mee at the doore at my entrance; so that as soone as I came to him I said I was come according to his request and did often desire to visitt him, but his seruants stopped me as if I were a sutor: I entreated him to reforme it, for that it was a discurtesye to one of my place. He Called his steward and Master Porter, and Commanded them that if I came my selfe no man should presume to stay mee but lett me passe into him, and that all my seruants at all tymes should bee brought into a roome to sitt downe and that his house should euer bee free for them. So I satt, and for Complement acknowledged the fauour the king had done mee so publiquely to proceed from good reports made by him of me and our Nation, which wee would with all due respect endeauour to requite. He replied he was euer my frend in his particular, but that the kings good opinion and fauour to mee proceeded from his owne good disposition. I answered: seeing he was so modest not to take it vpon him and so refuse the thanckes, yet I desiered him that hee would vse this oportunitye and season of his Maiesties gratiousnes to mooue at night the sealing of our Priuiledges, for that our shipes were ready to arriue, and if

[1] Robert Hughes. He was admitted a factor in Nov. 1614, and went out in the same fleet as Roe. In 1617 he was sent to Agra; and later still (1620-21) was one of the pioneers who opened up trade at Patna, where Mukarrab Khán, who was then governor, treated the English factors with great cordiality. Hughes seems to have died in 1623 or 1624.

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they found no alteration they would land no goodes, and I should bee reputed very Negligent in my dutie, to my vtter disgrace and ruine in my Masters fauour, who would not lay the fault on any other nor beeleue any excuse, having receiued such assurance of loue from the Great Mogull by his last lettres; and that I had a Pickture of a frend of myne that I esteemed very much, and was for Curiositye rare, which I would giue his Maiestie as a present, seeing hee so much affected that art;[1] assuring myselfe he neuer saw any equall to it, neyther was any thing more esteemed of mee. He answered it was not good to Moue yt publiquely, it might bring forth opposition and dispute: but that I should relye on him: hee would see them sealed speedely: that the kings consent was already passd by referrence to him: but for the Picture he desird I would send for yt presently, that hee might see it, and present it to the king (so nothing in this kynd once named is lett slipd, and I was engaged to my guift). I sent for yt and astonishd him, hee seeming to take extreame content, eauen to admiration; assuring mee it would bee the most welcome guift I euer presented. Suddenly hee rose (the king beeing come out) and desiered me to staye there: that hee would goe to the king and send for mee, leauing mee musique and Company. Within halfe an hower two of the kings seruants came for mee; and after some speech with Master Hewes, wherin hee was Satisfied, Asaph chan asked mee for my little Picture and presented it to the King. He tooke extreame Content, showeing it to euerie man neare him; at last sent

[1] Jahángír considered himself a connoisseur in such matters. "I am so fond of pictures," he says in his memoirs, "and have such discrimination in judging them that I can tell the name of the artist, whether living or dead. If there were similar portraits finished by several artists, I could point out the painter of each. Even if one portrait were finished by several painters, I could mention the names of those who had drawn the different portions of that single picture" (Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vi, 360).

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for his Cheefe Paynter, demanding his opinion. The foole answered he could make as good. Wherat the king turned to mee, saying: my man sayth he can do the like and as well as this: what say yow? I replyed: I knew the Contrarie. But if hee doe, said he, what will you say? I answered: I would giue 10,000 *rupies* for such a Coppy of his hand, for I knowe non in Europe but the same master can performe it.[1] Nay, said the king, I will call 4 Paynters, my Cheefe woorke men, and what will you giue mee if they make one so like, that you shall not knowe your owne? I replyed: I had nothing of valewe to giue his Maiestie, but at the arriuall of the shipes I would giue the best rarety I could procure. He answered: that was long: but what wager would I lay in the meantyme? I replyed: I knew not what to offer in wager to so great a Prince, nor became it me to name it; but if his Maiestie were pleasd I would lay any in my Power to pay. Why, said hee, if yow will not lay with mee, lay with the Paynter. I answered: no, Sir, as I am vnfitt with your Maiestie, so your Paynter is no equall match for mee: but I will wager with Asaph chan or Abdalazan or any of your lordes. So he Commanded Asaph chan, who offered 5,000 *rupies*. I replyed I was Content, but mony was no honourable bett, especially among frendes: but I would lay a good horse. Soe the match was agreed on; but Asaph chan recanted in Priuat.[2]

After, the king fell to drincking of our Allegant, giuinge tasts to diuers, and then sent for a full bottle, and drincking one Cup sent it to mee: that it beegan to sower soe fast it would be spoyld before hee Could drincke all, and that I

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[1] From Roe's accounts (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 276) we learn that the painter thus characterised was Isaac Oliver, the celebrated miniaturist (1551-1617); that the painting was "a small limned picture of a woeman;" and that it cost in England 6*l.*, and would have sold in India for 150 rupees.

This interesting episode is entirely omitted in Purchas's version.

[2] For the conclusion of this incident see p. 224.

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had none. So hee turned to sleepe; the Candles were poppd out, and I groppd my way out of doores.

This day a gentellwoeman of Normalls was taken in the kings house in some action with an Eunuch. Another Capon that loued her kylld him. The Poore Woeman was sett up to the Arme pitts in the Earth hard ramed, her feete tyde to a stake, to abyde 3 dayes and 2 nights without any sustenance, her head and armes bare, exposed to the sunns violence: if shee died not in that tyme she should bee pardoned.[1] The Eunuch was Condemned to the Eliphantes. This damsell yeelded in Pearle, Jewelles, and ready mony 160,000[2] *rupias*.

July 14.—I sent Asaph Chan a bottle of wyne, putting him in mynd to dispatch the sealing of our Priuiledges. Hee Called to his Secretarie for them and promised to send them seald with expedition.

July 15.—I sent to Zulpheckcarcon for mony. He desiered that I would forbeare 6 dayes; for that his mony and the Princes was ready, but for som goodes deliuered to others there was difference: that hee had sent to Suratt for testemony against such as denyed and wee should be cleared with all togither. I gaue order to Master Fettiplace to returne that I was Content to forbeare tenn dayes for mony: but that I desiered he would firme the agreement in generall with his hand and seale, that I might be secure from any new cauelles; which hee promised to doe the next day.

July 16.—I Could not gett the brokar to goe, by whose

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[1] Terry (p. 407) says that the fault she had committed was kissing the eunuch: that the latter was cut to pieces in her sight: and that she lived a day and a half, "crying out most lamentably, while she was able to speak, in her language, as the Shunamites childe did in his: *Ah, my head! my head!*; which horrid execution, or rather murder, was enacted near our house."

[2] Purchas says "sixteene hundred thousand," which is obviously wrong

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Negligence all our busines was deferrd and delayd. I had not power to dismisse him, though hee did more hinder vs then all other letts togither ; neyther had the Merchanntes any will, for I mooued it often. So that I can doe no more. He offereth his bill for the mony, and that is a warrant for the Princes part, if they will fetch it ; if not, I am blamelesse.

July 18.—I went to the *Durbar* to visitt the king, but could not yet gett a dispatch of my demandes.

July 19.—I sent to Socoralla for the Princes answer to my lettre concerning the farme of Coustomes.[1] Hee said that it was referrd to Asaph chan and him: that they must meete and Conferr about yt and then I should receiue yt. At euening I sent to Asaph chan, desiering him to fauour my request for renting the Princes dues at Suratt, It beeing referrd to him and Socorolla, in which by a speedie answer hee should doe mee Curtesie, that I might tymely aduise therof to Suratt. He promised that hee would that night Consult about yt and giue me all assistance, and for my other busines in his hand it should bee ready in two dayes. Thus I was fedd with hopes and delayes to no effect.

July 22.—I receiued lettres from Bramport in answer of those to Mahobet chan,[2] who at first[3] granted my desier, making his *firmaen* to Baroch most effectuall, to receiue our Nation and to give them a house near the Gouernor: strictly Commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, nor to take any custome of them or any way trouble them vnder colour therof: finally that they might buy, sell, and transport any Comoditye at their pleasure without any molestation : Concluding that they should expect to heare no other from him and therefore they should be carefull in execution. I receiued with yt a lettre from himselfe

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[1] See p. 209. [2] See p. 199. [3] At once.

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(which was more Ciuilitye then all the Indyes yeelded mee) full of Curtesye and humanitie and great respect, protesting his desier to giue me Content and that what I had demanded I should make no doubt of performance: and if I had any other occasion to vse him, hee desiered me to write and it should bee performed.

The Coppies are woorthy the seeing for the rareness of the Phrase: the *firmaen* I caused to be sent to Suratt.[1] So that Baroch is prouided for a good retraite from the Princes Iniuryes, and the Custom giuen, wherby 1,500*li.* per annum wilbe saued, besides all manner of searches and extortions.[2] For the performance of this no man maketh any doubt, for that all men Confesse that hee neither Careth for the Prince, and soe feareth not,[3] nor needeth any man, beeing the only beloued man of the king, and second person in his dominions, and in all his life soe liberall of his pursse and honorable of his woord that hee hath engrossed good reports from all others. And Concerning Custome, the king takes none; the Gouernors make it their proffitt; which hee professeth to scorne that hee should abuse the liberty of the kinges Ports.

July 23.—I wrote to Mahobet chan complements and thanckes,[4] and sent away lettres to Mesolapatan concerning a factory at Bengala.[5] At night I solicited Asaph chan for

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[1] The original letter from Mahábat Khán is among the I. O. Records (*O. C.*, No. 380). In the *Calendar of State Papers* (*E. Indies*) it has been wrongly entered as the original *farmán*.

A translation of the latter forms No. 381 of the same series.

[2] There seems to have been some misunderstanding as to this. The factors at Surat declared that the customs at Broach belonged to Khoja Násar (*Surat Letterbook*, ff. 63 and 84); if so, Mahábat Khán had no power to remit them. As already mentioned, however (see p. 199 *n.*), the idea of transferring the English headquarters to that town was soon abandoned.

[3] Kerridge wrote (July 23rd, 1616), that Mahábat Khán hated the Prince and his favourite, Zúlfikár Khán.

[4] The letter is copied at f. 112 of the MS.

[5] In answer to the letter received by Roe on May 23rd. Roe's original letter is now among the I. O. Records (*O. C.*, No. 382), and there is also a copy in *Addl. MS.* 6115 (f. 113). In it he says that he

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my Articles. His answere was short: tary a whyle; which I vnderstand not.

July 25.—I sent to Zulpheckcarcon at the Princes. He desiered the Merchanntes to come to his house and hee would dispatch them.

July 26.—I sollicited Sacarolla for the Princes answer. He replied that Asaph chan and hee had not mett, and that I must moue him to yt, for that else it would bee forgotten.

July 28.—I went to the *Durbar* to visitt the king, who referrd me to Asaph chan, with whome I went home and

"was requested to procure a *firmaen* or Command for Bengala, it beeing supposed that some shipping would be this yeare directed thither;" but that finding *farmáns* of little use he is waiting for the conclusion of the proposed treaty, of which a copy shall be forwarded in due course to Masulipatam, ready for any English ship that may be sent to Bengal.

Roe had already suggested to the Surat factors that an attempt should be made overland to open up trade with Bengal, "so desiered by the Company and impressed into me by Captain Keeling," and also with Lahore and Sind; but Kerridge and his companions doubted whether they would sell much cloth in Lahore, and pointed out the risk in Sind from the Portuguese settled at Lárībandar. "Bengalla generally," they wrote, "is a whott country, the moste of the Inhabitants very poore gentiles, and vpon the sea Coaste, where there is any hope of bennefitt, the Duch & Portingales haue trade; wherby wee Conceaue that the transportation by land theither wilbe more hazardous & chargable then the bennefitt by the sale of a smale quantety can answer" (*Surat Letters*, May 26th, 1616). To this the ambassador retorted: "that Bengala should bee poore I see no reason; it feedes this Countrie with wheate and rise; it sendes sugar to all India; it hath the finest Cloth and Pintadoes, Musck, Ciuitt and Amber, [besides] almost all raretyes from thence by trade from Pegu. . . . . If wee keepe Iasques in our hopes, wee must plant at Syndu and vnite our forces; they wilbe els too farr distant to assist one another; and it is the fittest place of all these dominions, considered in ytself, for our residence. The Number of Portugalls residing is a good argument for vs to seeke it; it is a signe ther is good dooing. An Abby was euer a token of a rich seoyle, and store of Crowes of plenty of Carrion. . . . . It is to bee vnderstood wee must fire them out and maynteyne our trade at the Pikes end." (*Addl. MS.* 6115, ff. 102-108). However, as the factors were unwilling, Roe ceased to urge the proposal; and so the matter rested for the present. In writing to the Company (November 2nd, 1616), the factors merely said that the suggested voyage to "Port Pequeno" [Sátgáon] could not be made for want of small ships "fitting that purpose."

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with all earnestnes pressed the dispatch of my demandes and that hee would meete Sacarolla about the farme of our Customes. He answered me with many Complements of frendship and loue, but delayed mee with sentences[1] and Morality: that kings were to be attended, and that things must come from them of their owne mynde, without importunitye: that patience would bring all to passe. I answered I had worne out all my store with so tedious delayes, and that, if I had not depended on his promise, I would haue some way at least procured a refusall and so departed: but that I hoped he would effect yt, for that the king my Master would impute the faulte to my negligence and I durst hardly see his face without a better account of that Committed to mee. He replied I must not vse such speeches, for the king could not blame me for anything out of my Power: that hee knewe the myndes of kings were in Godes handes only, and no man could rule them but himself: that hee spake not this with any purpose that I should not haue them, but to giue me content, least I should with impatience mistake his good meaning and affection towardes mee. I answered I was free from Ielousy of him, but if I were more importunate now, the Comming of the shipes enforced mee: that I was resolued noe goodes should be landed vntill I had some better assurance of our vsage. Hee said all was past and that these Articles I should haue, but that the kingdome of Suratt was wholie in the Princes Power: the king would doe nothing to preiudice his authority: That I should visitt the Prince and giue him a Present, and make frendes among his seruants, for from him I must expect my best reamedy and our quiett residence. I answered I had no presents vntill their arriuall: that all other means I vsed to

[1] Adages or aphorisms (Lat. *sententiæ*). Ben Jonson, in his *Discoveries*, complains of the fondness of Terence and some of the Greek poets for "the sticking in of sentences."

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procure the fauour of the Prince, and the assistance of those neare him, but it became not mee to seeke to every body in that which was a free demand of leauge betweene Princes, which I thought they should as readily accept as the king of England should offer yt. Concerning the farme of Customes hee promised to send for Socorolla and giue me answere. Many faire wpordes were cast away on both Parts, and so I returned only with New promises.

July 31.—I went to visitt the Prince and, because I would haue occasion to speake, as well as to follow Asaph Chans aduise, I presented him a very delicate Piece scrued, with a fier loock, made in Leige, that would Carrie Poynt blanck as farr as a Muskett and weighed not 4 *li.*[1] He saw first all the qualetyes and after, as I suppose, sent for Zulpheckcarcon, whom I had not seen since his arriuall at Adsmere. When hee Came, the Prince poynted him to mee, wherat hee came and saluted mee. My enterpreter was Called for and hee asked mee why I was angry with him. I replied the Cause was Publique: for many Iniuries offered our Nation, and for yet deferring any honest satisfaction. Hee replied with protestation that hee was my Frend: that what hee had done was by Commandement; poynting to the Prince confidently and Carelessly, Ther, saith hee, is hee that did it: but for his owne affection he swoore hee would doe mee any seruice, and that I should not refuse to bee his Frend: that hee would feast mee, and make any recompence, for that was not his owne faulte. I replyed that as long as the busines stood vnfinished I could not accept nor embrace his Frendship: hee had daylie promised to seale the agreement, and made the Merchanntes attend in vayne, which I tooke in great scorne. He answered if that were all betweene vs, that I should send this day: it should bee signed and the mony paied:

[1] "Cost in Liege 52*s.*"—Roe's Accounts.

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that hee Cared not for such trifles: to doe me seruice hee would doe a thousand tymes more, soe that I would bee reconciled. I answered: when I saw his performance I would readilye embrace him, and both visitt him and invitte him to mee: and that if his harte were answerable to his professions, hee should for amendes of past wronges mooue the Prince to a better opinion of our Nation, and procure for us such Priuiledges as hee in his owne experience best knew were necessary for vs: this performed and our reckonings evened, I was very ready to exchange any curtesy with him. Hee replied if I would come oftner to the Prince, he would effect all my busines and vse his best Creditt; and soe wee parted. The Prince harkened to this discourse, and many of the Principalls were gathered about vs, supposing wee would have Chidd, or at least expecting some better sport then wee made them (for they delight in contraversies as a Pastime), but his faire woordes prevented yt. This obseruance I made of him, that hee seemes to bee a free and good Naturd man, for that hee Confidently avowed the fault in his Master, & seemed as it were to scorne to have done such outrages of his owne disposition; and his professions appeared harty, his Carriadge to the Prince carelesse and familiar, vnlike all other men. At afternoone I desiered Master Fettiplace and Iadowe[1] to goe make experience of his Promises.

August 1.—Master Fettiplace went to Zulpheckcarcon for his *Scrito* for our mony according to agreement; but hee refused to seale it, vnder pretence that hee would first Collect the mony from diuers that had parte of the goodes, and for his owne hee gaue a bill to receiue 3,500 *mamoodies* of Abram chan; but would not tye himselfe to answer other mens debts.

August 2.—I wrote to Asaph chan eyther to procure the

[1] The broker.

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seale to my demandes before the shipes arriuall, with all the reasons I could urdge, or to deale soe Nobly as to giue me a reasolute answere; and to meete Mirze Socorolla about the farme.[1] The Coppy is registred.[2] Hee returned: for my Articles they could bee sealed without delay, but that by the negligence of his seruant they were mislayed, else they had bene finished, and required another Coppy: for the farme of Customes, hee would advise thereon and doe me all Frendship;[3] but in plaine termes hee beggd a rich present for the Prince.

August 5.—I seeing how Zulpheckcarcon notwithstanding all promises vsed vs, I resolued I would trye the vttmost and bee no farther abused with delaies. Soe that I tooke the occasion of his watch day at the Princes, where hee must needs bee, and ther publiquely to demand satisfaction before his face and lett his highnes know with what euasions my long patience had bene tyred. But before I went in, I sent Iaddow to signifie the intent of my Comminge, whereatt hee entreated mee not to Complaine nor speake of yt for that day, and if I would trust him soe farr as to forbeare vntill the Princes goeing in, hee would returne with mee, and giue mee full satisfaction. So that I ventured once more, not for his sake, but for that I knewe it would not bee a wellcome motion to the Prince that was soe vnpleasing to his Minion. When the Prince rose and departed I, that neuer thought myselfe suer of soe vncertaine a man, desiered Merzie Socorolla to heare the Conditions agreed on and lett him know that at Zulpheckcarcons entreaty and promise to finish it now, I had that day forborne complaint, desiering [him] to wittnes

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[1] Of the Surat customs.

[2] See f. 114 of the MS. The letter is, however, dated July 31st.

[3] In a letter to Pepwell of September 10th, 1616, Roe says that his offer was accepted in principle. No actual arrangement, however, was made, as they failed to come to terms; see letter to Company, February 14th, 1617-18.

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to the Prince, if I were enforced, the iust cause of greeuances I receiued by his daylie falshood, repeating the debt, the abatement, and my desier, with the others promise. With much adoe I got him to Confesse the sumes, but then, beeing free for 4 or 5 daies and hauing now escaped mee, hee sought all means to deferr giuing his *scrito* for the whole, which was that I insisted on. Breefly, after many disputes Socorolla tould him plainly it was dishonest to putt vs off to any other, seeing hee tooke our goodes, howeuer hee bestowed them: for the Princes part, it was giuen as a present: but that if hee would doe as hee ought, giue me content by his bill for the whole debte and take it vpon himselfe, that hee would moue the Prince to pay as much as hee had receiued, and soe farr ease him: if not, hee would hinder him all in his power and assist mee next daye to Complayne. Diuers others councelled him and perswaded him; soe at last he gaue his woord Publiquely, desiering me to goe with him to the Court of Guard, wher hee sate, and I should haue my desier. Socorolla intreated mee to doe soe and finish yt, and for the mony hee promised to see it performed. When wee were sate hee offered mee presents and much kind vsage. I desiered a dispatch of that I staied for, and before I could accept of none. Soe hee drewe the bill himselfe and sealed in the presents of diuers and read it to our interpreter and Master Bidolph, who said it was well and sufficient; wherat wee tooke handes. And pressing mee to take a Gould *shalh*,[1] I answered wee were but newly frendes:

[1] A shawl embroidered with gold, or with gold inwoven. "Shawl is the Hindustani *shál*, from the Sanskrit *savala*, 'variegated,' the word referring to the various shades, grey, fawn, etc., of the fine wool (*pashmina*) of the Himalayan goats (*velaud*) of which the famous shawls of Kashmír are made" (Note by Sir George Birdwood).
This is perhaps the earliest occurrence of the word in English. In the seventeenth-century records at the India Office it is found in such forms as "shells" and "shawools;" see Sir George Birdwood's *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records*, p. 40, etc.

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when I saw any constancy in his Carriadge and the mony paid, I would bee more free with him, yet I would receiue no obligation. Thus this long and troublesome busines is finished, in which I was so farr from any sistance of Iustice that I got the disfauour of him that should haue been my Iudge, and Asaph chan my procurator could find noe other means of reconcilment but by agreement with my enemie. Yet the losse is not great or none to the Company, for it is in their powers to make shares, more beeing recouered then their debt by 300 *mamoodies* or therabouts; and in theirs not only all things at their owne rates, but the 2,000 *mamoodies* giuen is Comprised and restored (which was almost a shame to demand, beeing called a guift[1]); and I shall desier those that deale in the busines not [to] ease themselues in their dispatches, soe gently parting with mony, and cast the burthen and envy on mee to recouer it. What paines and aduentures I ran, what I bare shutting myne eyes and ears against many ill vsages, I best know that soe often felt Nature and honor repine and obiect a stupid patience.

This night the king sent 4 or 5 messengers for mee to [come to] the *Guzelchan*, but the first mistaking his arrand and my owne indisposition deferrd my goeing.

August 6.—I was sent for to the *Durbar*. The busines was about a Picture I had lately giuen the king[2] and was Confident that noe man in India could equall yt. So soone as I came hee asked mee what I would giue the Paynter that had made a Coppy soe like it that I should not knowe myne owne. I answered: a Painters reward—50 *rupies*. The king replied his Painter was a *Cauallero*,[3] and that too smalle a guift; to which I answered I gaue my Picture with a good hart, esteeming it rare, and ment not to make

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[1] See p. 194. [2] See p. 213.

[3] A gentleman—a term the king had doubtless learned from the Portuguese.

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comparisons or wagers: if his Seruant had done as well, and would not accept of my guifte, his Maiestie was most fitt to reward him. Soe with many passages of Iests, mirth and brages concerning the arts of his Countrye, hee fell to aske mee questions: How often I dranck a day, and how much and what? What in England? What beere was? How made? and whether I could make it heere? in all which I satisfied his great demands of state. He concluded that I should come to the *Guzelchan*, and then I should see the Picturs. At night hee sent for mee, beeing hastie to triumph in his woorkman, and shewed me 6 Pictures, 5 made by his man, all pasted on[1] one table, so like that I was by candle-light troubled to discerne which was which; I confesse beyond all expectation; yet I shewed myne owne and the differences, which were in arte apparent, but not to be iudged by a Common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, hee was very merry and Ioyfull and craked[2] like a Northern man. I gaue him way and Content, praysing his mans arte. Now, saith hee, what say you? I replied I saw his Maiestie needed noe Picture from our Country. But, saieth hee, what will you giue the Painter? I answered: seeing hee had soe farr excelled my opinione

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[1] Purchas has "in one table," as if using the word in the sense (then not uncommon) of "picture." Evidently the six were fastened (slightly, for the Mogul detached one afterwards) upon some flat surface, probably of thin board.

Regarding the miniature presented by Roe, Sir George Birdwood has kindly given me the following note: "This must have been one of the small portraits in watercolours on paper or vellum which became so fashionable in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the English school of miniature painting commenced with Nicholas Hilliard (1547-1619), and was continued by John Hoskins and the two Olivers, and reached its highest excellence in Samuel Cooper (1609-1672) in the reign of Charles I. It was not until the reign of James II that ivory was used in this country for miniature painting. No contemporary miniatures of the Great Moguls on ivory are known to me. All the portraits of the period I have seen are on fine, smooth paper, and are stippled."

[2] Boasted. "Then is she mortal borne, howso ye *crake*" (*Faerie Queene*, Bk. VII, c. 7, st. 50).

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of him, I would double my liberalitye, and that if hee came to my house, I would giue him 100 *Rupies* to buy a Nagg; which the king tooke kindly, but answered hee should accept no mony but some other guifte; which I promised. The king asked: what? I said it was referrable to my discretion. So hee answered it was true; yet desiered I would name yt. I replyed a good swoord, or Pistoll, or Picture; wherat the king answered: yow confesse hee is a good woorkman: send for him home, and showe him such toyes as you haue and lett him choose one; in requitall wherof you shall choose any of these Coppies to showe in England wee are not soe vnskillfull as you esteeme vs. Soe hee pressed mee to choose one, which I did. The king, wrapping it vp in paper and putting it vp in a table booke[1] of myne, deliuered yt with much Joye and exultation of his mans supposed victory.[2] Wherat I showed him a Picture I had of his Maiestie farr infearior to the woorke I now sawe, which caused mee to iudg of all other by that which was deliuered mee as the best. He asked me where I had it? I tould him. Why, said hee, doe you buy any such things? Haue not I the best, and haue I not tould yow

[1] Note-book.

[2] The following is Terry's hearsay account (p. 135) of this incident, which, it will be noticed, is incorrect in some particulars: "It happened that my Lord Ambassadour visiting the Mogol on a time, as he did often, He presented him with a curious neat small oval Picture done to the life in England. The Mogol was much pleased with it, but told the Ambassadour withall, that happily he supposed there was never a one in his Countrey that could do so well in that curious Art, and then offered to wager with him a *leck* of *roopies* (a sum which amounted to no less then 10,000*l.* sterling) that in a few dayes he would have two Coppie made by that presented to him, so like that the Ambassadour should not know his own. He refused the great Wager, but told the King he would adventure his judgment on it. Two Coppies taken from that Originall were within few dayes after made and brought and laid before the Ambassadour in the presence of the King; the Ambassadour viewing them long, either out of Courtship to please the King, or else unable to make a difference 'twixt the pictures, being all exquisitly done, took one of them which was new made, for that which he had formerly presented, and did after Profess that he did not flatter, but mistake in that choise."

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I will giue you what soeuer you desiered? I thancked his Maiestie, but that I held it not Ciuilitie to trouble him in such trifles, especially as a begger. Hee replied it was noe shame to aske of him, and bad mee speake at all tymes freely; pressing mee to Aske somewhat. I answered I would not choose my guifte: what soeuer came from his Maiesties handes I would receiue as a marke of honor. He replied: if you desier my Picture I will giue you one for your selfe or for your king. I answered if his Maiestie would send the king one I would gladly Carrie yt, and knewe his Maiestie would take it Frendly and esteem it much: but that since his Maiestie had embouldned mee I would desier one for my selfe, which I would keepe and leaue to my posterity as an ensigne of his Maiesties fauour. Hee replied: your king doth not desier one, but you doe: therefore you shall haue it; and soe gaue present order for the Making. Then hee turned to rest, and wee were blindfold dismissed.

August 8.—I receiued lettres from Agra, which signifie that Indico is like to bee at good rates and Cheape: Cloth sells not att all; hides for losse. Concerninge the debt of Mahamett Hassine left by Robert Young,[1] vpon my lettre the Gouernor wrote to him to pay it; who refusing, he sent for his officers and hurd the Cause and Iudged the debt dewe to the English, and gaue sentence for payment. Yet ther was after abated about 90 *rupies*, of which Master Crowther frees himselfe.

August 9.—This empty day of other busines enuites mee by the strangenes of the action to mention breefly a sentence of the king and execution accordingly. 100 theeues were brought Chayned before him and accused. Without farther Ceremony, as in all such Cases is the Custome, the king bad Carry them away and lett the

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[1] See p. 208.

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Cheefe be torne with doggs, kyll the rest. This was all the processe and forme. The Prisoners were deuided to seuerall quarters of the towne, and openly in some street, as in one by my howse, wher 12 doggs tare the Princepall; and 13 of his fellowes, having their handes tyed downe to their feete, had their Neckes cutt with a swoord, but not quite off, and so left naked, bloody, and stincking to euery mans vew and incomodytie.[1]

August 10.—I receiued lettres from Amadavaz; with which a Copy newly arriued, from Master Kerridg to Jhon Browne, concerning a dutch shipp of 300 tunns at Ankar at the barr of Swaly. She had been at Ba[n]tam, and laden with south Comodities, had dischardged most part at Moha in the redd sea, wher shee tooke *Chickenes*[2] and royalls for her goodes, and with about 100 tunns of spices and that mony Came to Suratt, pretending to seeke trade. Her People seemed not willingly to disclose their purpose but that they expected a fleete from Holland and would ryde vntill the season, and accordinly declare. Her arriuall, it seemes, made our factors at Suratt much afrayd, eyther of their purpose to doe some spoyle on the Coast in reuenge of Certeine debts oweing, or of settling a factory in India, where they would both out-present, out-bribe, and out-buy vs in all things, ether of which would be very preiudiciall to our proceedings, especially if they should robb Sultan Caronns ship expected this season in returne from Moha. So that although I had not aduise particularly addressed to mee (of which I woonder)[3] and this

[1] For numerous instances of Jahángír's cruelty in punishing offenders, see his so-called *Memoirs* (*Tárikh-i-Jahángír*), translated by Major Price.

[2] The Venetian gold ducat (*zecchino*, *cecchino*, or *sequin*). It was long current on the shores of India, and was held to be worth about four rupees. For an interesting note on the subject, see Yule's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*. Mandelslo values it as high as 8½ or 9 rupees.

[3] The Surat factors sent off the intelligence on July 26th, but their letter did not reach Roe until August 14th (see p. 243). In it they

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Comming casually, yet I went to visitt the king and enformed him of all my Iealousyes,[1] which were noe other then to begett some in him. Hee enquired what this ship brought? which I declared according to relation: What the fleete was like to bring? If they intended trade? Or, if they were men of warr, vpon whom the storme were most probable to fall? I answered that for their trade they Could bring nothing but Easterne Comodityes, from China or the Islands, for that their owne land yeilded nothing fitt for these parts, but that they liued upon transport of forraigne goodes, and seeking new trades, gayning by all Nations that needed others and had not vse of shipping: but that they most affected a footing in these

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stated that the ship was the *Nassau*, which left Bantam in the previous September, and, capturing on her way a Portuguese vessel laden with cinnamon, entered the Red Sea and anchored at Mocha; after disposing of most of her lading to great profit, her commander, encouraged by some Gujarátí merchants, determined to visit Surat, after spending the monsoon at Socotra; failing, however, to fetch that island, he was forced to proceed, in spite of the danger of approaching the Indian coast at this season. The governor, wrote Kerridge, was afraid either to entertain the Dutch or to drive them away, and so was temporising: he had refused them a house, though he offered to buy their cargo at current rates: and he was trying to frighten them away by representing their danger of shipwreck or of attack from Portuguese vessels. The English, it seems, entertained the Dutch merchants hospitably, but were evidently alarmed by the prospect of competition from this quarter; and Kerridge expressed a strong hope that the expected fleet from England would drive them away, "for such," he said, "is their practice against the English wher or whensoeuer they have power to effect it." Roe's reply, however, was: "concerning the Hollander I haue receiued instructions from England how to deale—not by force, as you intended;" and, although he spared no pains to secure their dismissal, he was careful to avoid all show of hostility.

For a fuller account the narrative of the Dutch commander, Pieter van den Broecke, published at Amsterdam in 1648, should be consulted. Therein he expressly says that "the English did their best with presents and bribes to cause our departure;" and in his letter to the Directors at Amsterdam describing his voyage (I. O. Records: *Hague Transcripts*, Series 1, vol. ii, No. 78) he specifies the amount thus given as 800 rials. He also mentions that there was an English ambassador at court with a large train of from twenty-five to thirty men.

[1] Doubts or suspicions. Cp. *Julius Cæsar*, I, ii: "That you do love me I am nothing jealous."

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Parts, and some hould and retrayt, both for the keeping in awe of those with whom they traded, and for a security for themselues from all violence or vnconstancy, which Course they had held in all parts to the South and East where they had any recourse, building forts for defence of themselves, wherby by little and little they became masters of the Port,[1] wherof at Mesolapatan was a Neighbouring example: But I thought if they Came as men of warr, they would not attempt any thing on this Coast, especially in presence of our fleete, which wee expected as soone as they arriue, nor in any place where wee had residence, for reuerence to his Maiestie the king of England, to whom they did owe eauen that liberty wherby they molested others: But rather they would prosecute their Mortall quarrell against the Portugalls, eyther at Damon, Chaul, or perhapes at the head, Goa itself, for that if they came with such intent, they would doe somwhat woorthy their labour. The king was somewhat troubled at my relation; but, as if all things were to little to concerne such mightines, it passed away without any resolution.

August 11.—I visited Asaph chan, and Cast new doubts into his head, pretending seruice and much affection to the Prince: that, because the Hollanders were in leauge with the English, I would not speake that openly to the king which I had reason to feare in behalfe of the Prince, whose shippes were now abroad, to whom all the Coast was now subiect: therfore I had reserued matter of most Consequence for his highnes, wherin if hee would bee pleased to heare mee and to follow my aduise, I would perhaps prevent that which would both trouble and dishonor him: in all which, seeing it proceeded out of an earnest seale to doe

[1] Roe's drift will be easily perceived. He knew how distasteful the idea was of any European power getting a footing in the Mogul's dominions.

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his Highnes seruice, I hoped hee would Iudge of my good meaning and purpose, not according to euents, which were subiect to Casualties, which had often more force in execution of councells then thc wisest and most aduised reasons. He gaue mee great thanckes for my Care and loue to them, desiering me to goe on the morowe to the Prince, whom hee would prepare that eueninge for a Conferance with mee; withall admonishing mee (with deepe protestations that he spake it with the like affection and loue to mee that he saw I carried toward them by tymely warning) that I should by all meanes indeauour to prevent that the Dutch should neither robb the Princes ships nor spoyle the Coast, for that it would bee very ill taken of the king and dangerous for vs, in respect that he had often hard that they were a Nation, though not subiect, yett som way dependant vpon the king of England. I answered: though I had no reason to doubt the kings iustice and wisdom in discerning and doeing right, yet hee might see that I had their safety already in my Care, which made mee so farr wade into the busines almost against our frendes: yet the loue of Iustice compelled me to yt, for that wee were frendes to the dutch, but not to any of their vnlawfull attempts: that I could by noe means answer, nor by any equitye be required to yt, for what they should doe at sea: but after the arriuall of our fleete, or where wee were seated, I supposed they would offer no violence, and to that end I would both use my Creditt and authoritye, and also giue such dayly aduise and intelligence as came to mee: and that for prevention of what might happen at sea, I would deliuer my opinione to the Prince. Now though these doubts which I sowed (especially of any enterprise on the Coast) were not so vrgent as I pretended, yet they serued my turne for many purposes; first, to imprint in the Prince an opinion of my desier to doe him seruice and good affection of our Nation toward

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him, and hereby to procure a more familiarytie of discourse; secondly, I would vnder that pretence lay such rubbs in the Hollanders way as should not easely bee remooued, a matter of no small consequence to this trade, by whose admittance wee were vtterly lost; at least I would so farr norish Iealousy as to keepe them from any footing; lastly, and which is not of least vse, I would tell my owne tale in the Hollanders person, seeing it is necessarie that the Prince know how wee wilbe reuenged if we continew to bee misused, and yet not convenient that I deliuer so much playnly, as our busines now standes. Asaph chan seemed greatly pleased, assuring mee of fauour from the king to our Nation and of very gratfull reception from the Prince of my endeauours; wherat I tooke occasion to tell him how little encouragment I had yet receiued, especially in the delay of those articles propounded in the Name of my Master, which was a busines most concerned mee and was the only siment to ioyne the affections of both Nations to avoyed and disperce all Iealousyes, whereby a perfect leauge and a kind of naturall loue would growe by Continuall trafique, commerce and entercourse one with another. He answered it was his faulte, but that ther was tyme enough, it beeing 6 weekes to the shippes arriuall, before which I could make little vse of yt: but that if hee had any honor in him, I should receiue them sealed within 3 dayes, and that what soeuer else lay in him to doe mee or my nation seruice I should Command. I answered in the same mettle of obedience, but to shorten Complements hee said wee should bee brothers, and that the title should bee sufficient to expresse all profession.

August 12.—I went to the Princes, to whom (as if I had reserued the secrett and misterie of the busines only for him) I desired what I deliuered might bee priuatly; which was done. First, I tould him I had great reason to sus-

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pect that the dutch fleete expected had some ill purpose, by the Carriadge of the shipp arriued, who offered to land no goodes but dealt closely, reseruing their resolution vntill the Comming of their fellowes, pretending that they entended a factory, which if they did they would vnlade and not venture to ride in soe terrible a roade open to the sea upon a lee shoare, a thing strange and with vs held impossible, that any shipp could gett in from the westward in this season, much lesse bide at Anchor the force of wyndes ordinarye vntill the change of the Monson : But for preuention, I vnderstood they desired to bring their ship, which drew but 12 foote water, over the barr and to ride in the riuer, yet without Command of any fort;[1] which gaue mee the most suspition, for shee would bee master of the riuer, and goe out at Pleasure; But that which did almost Confirme mee that assuredly they ment to surprise his hignes ships was That about tenn yeares since The Hollanders had a factorie at Suratt where all their Merchannts died, leauinge much goodes and mony in their house, which being veiwed and taken by Inventorie, *Channa Channa* and diuers great men deuided and tooke amonge them, yet sending lettres to Mesolapatan of the Particulars, offering to repay it all to any that should bring lawfull authoritie to receiue it, whervpon this last yeare The Hollanders sent ouer land two principall Merchannts from Mesolapatan to Suratt, hoping to haue found such Iustice as their promise pretended, but Contrary they were beaten and ill vsed, recouering scarcly their Chardge and some Indico that was kept vnsould, but for the mayne of the mony it was pretended to be in the handes of *Channa Channa* and other great men; These Merchants thus baffatted at Suratt resolued to trie the vtmost by faier meanes, and desiered leaue of mee to goe in my Company

[1] Out of the reach of the guns of the fort.

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to Brampore, wher beeing, as they pretended, refused audience and all satisfaction they returned to Mesolapatan, but first reauealing to mee their intents: that they feared this refusall before they vndertooke the voyadge, but yet to bee free from all scandall they had made tryall: but that it was resolued the yeare following (which is this present) there should Come a fleete to the Port of Suratt, wher, if satisfaction had beene made, they would trade, but finding the Contrarie with some shipes they would shutt vp the riuer and with others range too and againe and surprise all that Came out of the redd sea and all other trading on the Coast;[1] all which Considered, and that this

[1] Roe's account of the beginnings of Dutch intercourse with Surat is in many respects inaccurate. The facts appear to be these. The first Dutchmen to visit that port were two merchants named De Wolff and Lafer, who failed for want of support. Later on (the date is not specified), David van Deinssen and another merchant proceeded thither. The latter died, and Van Deinssen fell ill; but, as a Portuguese laid claim to some ivory in his possession, he was forced to journey to Burhánpur, in order that the Khán-khánán, as overlord of Surat, might hear the cause. He decided in the Dutchman's favour; but the worry proved too much for the latter, and he committed suicide. His goods and money at Burhánpur were taken possession of by the Khán-khánán; while most of those at Surat were sent up to that officer at Burhánpur (apparently as the estate of an alien dying in the country: cp. the attempt to seize Aldworth's effects). On hearing of this, the Dutch at Masulipatam threatened to take a Mogul vessel and compensate themselves. In reply the Viceroy (Mukarrab Khán) and Sháhbandar (Khoja Hasan Alí) wrote in Oct. 1614, assuring them that the goods in their possession would be delivered to anyone authorised to receive them; and at the same time, in view of the war then being waged with the Portuguese, they invited the Dutch to send a fleet to assist in the siege of Damán, offering in return to give them that town when taken. This invitation was not accepted, but, as stated above, two merchants were sent overland to Surat to claim Van Deinssen's goods. One of these merchants appears to have been Pieter Gilles van Ravesteyn, who was later the head of the Dutch factory at Surat. They recovered part of the property and sent it to Bantam in Keeling's ships, returning themselves by way of Burhánpur to claim the portion taken by the Khán-khánán. In this, apparently, they were unsuccessful; but Van Ravesteyn in his letter home makes no complaint of ill-treatment such as Roe alleges, and he recommends that further efforts be made to establish trade in Gujarát. [See Transcripts at I. O. of Dutch Records (Series 1, vol. ii, No. 71, and vol. iii, Nos. 87, 88); Peyton's Journal (*Addl. MS.* 19276); and *O. C.*, No. 181 (I. O. Records)].

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shipp desiers to Come over the barr, I had great reason to suspect that now that was in execution which was so long threatned: that this shipp should stopp the entrance to safety while the others tooke the booty, the rather because the Hollanders were soe incensed at the insolencyes offered them, and that they were a people strong at sea and revengfull, and would neyther forget to [nor ?] pardon Iniurye. I put his highnes in mynd how easy it was to take his shipps and all others trading into the redd sea, and what losse it would bee to him and to all his subiects to haue the trade either shutt vp or to expose his goodes to yearly and Certaine danger: that therfore his highnes should well advise how those were entreated that beeing too strong in shipping were so able to requite all Iniuryes.[1] Hee gaue mee many thanckes, with much profession of his gratitude for my good affection showed him in this intelligence; but withall was much troubled, desiering me to giue him some councell what to doe and how to behaue himselfe at present, and to avoyd the danger of his shipes. I answered I was very vnfitt to giue him advise, being so naturally Pregnant, haueing so many wise men about him: but, seeing hee so pleased to Command, I would venture my opinione and referr it to his Iudgement to execute according to his wisdome: That hee should write to the lieutenant at Suratt to giue them all good woordes, but if it were possible (vnder pretence of care of their safety) to fright them from Comming ouer the barr with the many shelffs, sandes and dangers of the riuer, and then his highnes should bee sure they would either away for feare of the weather and not returne vntill the season of Change, when I hoped our ships would be arriued to doe him seruice and to prevent any injury: or if they resolued to ride it out it

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[1] In all this Roe was "telling his own tale in the Hollander's person."

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was 100 to one they would be Cast away, and soe the question ended. But if no perswation could preuaile but that they would ouer the barr, then the Leiutennant should perswade them to bring the ship vp to the towne, vnder pretence of better riding and more Conuenience of refreshing (which may else be refused them) and so draw them vnder the Command of the Castle, wherby they could not depart without leaue, and if their fellowes had done any thing at sea this would bee a good Pawne to redeeme yt. But because it is easier and wiselier done to prevent mischeefe then to redresse it or punish yt, his highnes might send a Post ouer land to Syndu in 6 dayes, and thence send an aduisall frigott to his shipps to giue warning to looke out for a fleete and to keepe in sight of land, so that if such bee discouered they may shift vnder some fort or gett into Syndu: and that after, if the fleete arriue at Suratt peaceably and desier satisfaction and trade, his Highnes in honor would I doubt not cause them to haue iustice, But for trade I must referr it to his wisdome. Only thus much I would signifie: they would bee very vnruly ashore, disorderly especially by drincke, and that, if any iustice were done in such Case, they would make it a quarrell, beeing desierous of any occasion, for that accept they might Command here (which would not befitt his greatnes) as they did in all other their residences, they professe them selues they shall gaine more by stealing in one yeare then by trading in many:[1] So that if his highnes could be quiettly ridd of them, it were a happines and ease to him. But, howeuer, if his highnes saw cause to entertaine them, I hoped it should noe way bee in our preiudice, who had beene priuiledged many years by his father and were most ready to doe him seruice. Hee answered mee they should noe way disadvantage vs: that in all that

[1] This reminds one of Roe's own sentiment expressed on p. 192.

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I had deliuered he would follow my Councell and would not resolue anything Concerning the Hollanders without my aduise, desiering me to Continew to enforme him, and hee would apply him selfe wholy according to such instructions as hee should receiue of mee ; with many promises, good woordes, and Complements. So that I haue arriued at one of my proposed endes, and am in a faire Course to all ; but successes are subiect to the Chance of circumstances, and the myndes of Princes alter with tyme, or are ouerswayd with Passions and some tymes bought with too easy a Price.[1]

Here I mooued Mir[z]ie Socorollo for the Princes resolution for so much of Zulphecarcons debt as hee chardged the Prince withall, for that Master Bidolph the day before had showed him his hand and seale for the whole, wherin was Mentioned to be oweing by his highnes 5,500 *mamoodies*, and hee desiered to show the bill to the Prince and to know his pleasure. He answered he had moued the Prince and had order for so much, and would eyther pay it on the morrow or giue warrant to receiue so much at Suratt ; and for 3,500 *mamoodies*, which Zulpheckcarcon had previously giuen his bill to Abram chan, hee would write his lettre to Command the deliuery, which made 9,000 in all ; the remainder, which was to bee payd by Zulpheckcarcon, hee would see performed at the Arriuall of the Iudg of the Custome house, who was dayly expected.

I am loath to omitt any Curtesie done me—I had so fewe—and because this was one of the greatest and for the

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[1] All mention of the arrival of the Dutch and Roe's action thereupon was suppressed by Purchas, doubtless in accordance with his expressed intention of recording as little as possible of the bickerings that, at that time when he wrote, were fast envenoming the relations between the English and the Dutch. In the same fashion he omits the entries under the 26th and 27th of this month.

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manner new and from a person of so great qualety, I cannot but in gratitude confesse it. His name is Gemal-Din-Vssin,[1] a man of 70 yeares, vizeroy of Patan and lord of four Cittyes in Bengala, one that hath beene often Embassador, and of more vnderstanding and curtesye then all his Countriemen, and to be esteemed hospitable and a receiuer of strangers, not secrettly ambitious. Hee often made meanes that I would come to his house, which at last I did, and was receiued with extraordinary familiarity and kindnes; offering me a *leeck* of *rupias* and such other Curtesyes so great that they beespake their owne refusall. His fauour with the king, his Creditt, his councell, all was offered that could fullfill Complements. And this I must confesse that from a person reuerent in yeares it seemed more cordiall; and for in some discourse speaking so playnly of his fellowes in Court truthes in myne owne experience, I resolued hee was a good-Natured and right-harted ould man. Hee tould mee much of the Customes of this Countrie, of their seruitude, of their want of lawes, of the encrease of this empire, wherin hee had serued 3 Princes[2] in grace and fauour (of which tymes hee showed mee a booke or Annall of all memorable Actions, which hee had daylie Committed to record and had nowe composed them into a historye, the Copy wherof hee offered

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[1] Mír Jamáluddin Husain. He had served Akbar in various military and political capacities, and under Jahángír had risen to high rank. Eleven of his sons held commands in the army, and he himself is said to have been raised subsequently to the unique distinction (for a subject not of the blood royal) of 12,000 horse (*Memoirs of Jahángír*, translated by Major Price). He was at this time *súbahdár* of Patna or Bihár, but was shortly afterwards transferred to Sind (see p. 245); in 1621 he was pensioned, and amused himself with the compilation of a Persian dictionary, which he presented to the emperor two years later. In Hawkins' list of the Mogul nobles (Hakluyt Soc. ed., p. 420) his name appears, as a *mansabdár* of 3,000, under the almost unrecognisable form of "Mirza Shemchadin."

[2] Jahángír, Akbar, and apparently Humáyún; though, as the last-mentioned had died 60 years before this date, Mír Jamáluddin must have been very young when he was in his service.

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mee, if I could procure it translated[1]), concerning the kings reuenew and the manner of raysing it, besides Confiscations, guifts, and Cuttings vpon great men : that the Gouerment of euery Prouince did yearly pay a rent, as for his Gouerment of Patan only hee gaue the king 11 *leeckes* of *rupies*[2] (the *rupe* starling is 2 shillings 2 pence): all other profitts were his, wherin hee had regall authoritye to take what hee list, which was esteemed at 5,000 horse, the pay of euerie one at 200 *rupies* by yeare, wherof hee keept 1,500 and was alowed the surplase as dead pay ;[3]

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[1] Lord Carew, in his letter to Roe in January, 1617-18, expressed a hope that the ambassador would find some means of procuring a translation of this interesting work ; but nothing seems to have been done in the matter.

In response to an enquiry, Dr. Ethé has kindly informed me that the work is not included in any collection of Persian books or manuscripts known to him ; but he adds that there is in the Royal Library, Berlin, a short collection of memoirs by Mír Jamáluddin Husain, which may possibly have been extracted from it.

[2] This appears to be the net contribution to the royal exchequer, after deducting all expenses of administration. For particulars of the various provincial subsidies see Thomas's *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, where this passage is quoted (p. 24 *n.*).

[3] The following is Terry's account (p. 410) of the well-known system of military tenure here alluded to :—"The Mogol, in his far extended Monarchy, allows yearly pay for one Million of horse, and for every horse and man about eighteen pounds sterling per annum, which is exactly paid every year, raised from Land and other Commodities which that Empire affords, and appointed for that purpose. Now some of the Mogol's most beloved Nobles have the pay of six thousand horse ; and there are others (at the least twenty in his Empire) which have the pay of five thousand horse ; exceeding large Pensions above the revenue of any other Subjects in the whole World, they amounting unto more than one hundred thousand pounds yearly unto a particular man. Now others have the pay of four thousand horse ; others of three, or two, or one thousand horse, and so downward ; and these by their proportions are appointed to have horses alwayes in readinesse, well mann'd and otherwise appointed for the King's service ; so that he who hath the pay of five or six thousand, must alwayes have one thousand in readinesse, or more, according to the King's need of them, and so in proportion all the rest, which enables them on a sudden to make up the number, at the least, of two hundred thousand horse ; of which number they have alwayes at hand one hundred thousand, to wait upon the King wheresoever he is."

Compare also the account given by Hawkins (*op. cit.*, p. 419), who mentions the names of the principal *mansabdárs*, as these captains were styled.

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besides this the king gaue him of Pension 1,000 *rupies* a day and some smaller gouerments ; yet hee assured mee ther were diuers that had double his entertaynment, and aboue 20 equall. Hee praysed the good Prophet Jesus and his lawes, and was full of very delightfull and fruictfull discourse. This visitt was past some few dayes, and I thought that his curtesye had beene at an end, but this day he had borowed of the king his house and Garden of Pleasure Hauaz Gemall,[1] a mile out of towne, to feast mee in ; and ouer night earnestly inuiting mee, I promised to Come. At Midnight he went him self and Carried his tents and all furnitur and fitted vp a Place by the tancke side very handsomly. In the morning I went. At my Comming hee came to meete mee and with extraordinary Ciuilitye carried me into his roome prepared, wher hee had some Company and 100 seruants attending two of his sonnes (beeing a father to thirty). Hee entertayned mee with showeing the kings little Closetts and retyring roomes, which were Paynted with Antique, and in some Panes Copyes of the French kings and other Christian Princes ; wanting no Courtship : That he was a poore man, slaue to the king : That hee desiered I should receiue some content, and that therfore hee had drawen mee to a slight banquett, to eate bread and salte togeither to seale a frendshipp, which hee desiered mee to accept : that ther were many great men able to showe mee more Curtesye, but they were proud and falce : wishing mee to trust to none, for that if I had businesess to the king of any weight, eyther concerning the Portugalls or any other, they would never deliuer truth who were my enterpreters, but only what eyther pleased them selues or would Content in the relation : That therfore I should neuer be rightly vnderstood, nor effect my busines without abuse, nor neuer

[1] See p. 159 *n.*

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clearly know my estate, vntill I had an Englishman that could speake Persian, and that might deliuer my mynd without passing the toong of another, which the king would grant mee if I could fynd any, for that hee had conceiued a good opinion of mee, and the last night at the *Gusselchan*, having brought before him the Iewells of Sheck Ferid,[1] Gouernor of Lahor, lately dead, hee remembred me of him selfe, and seeing a Pickture of his owne that pleased him he deliuered it to Asaph chan, commanding him to send it mee to weare for his sake, with many woordes of fauour towardes mee, which would make all the great men respect mee. In this tyme came in dinner; soe sitting on Carpetts a Cloth was layed and diuers banquetting sett before vs, and the like a little apart for the gentellmen that Companied him, to whom hee went to eat, they houlding it a kynd of vncleannes to mingle with vs. Wherat I tould him Hee promised wee should eate bread and salt togither: that without his Company I had little appetite. Soe hee rose and sate by mee, and wee fell roundly to our victualles. The substance was made dishes of diuers sorts, reasons, amondes, Pistachoes and fruict. Dinner ended, hee playd at Chesse, and I walked. Returning, after some discourse I offered to take my leaue. Hee answered hee had entreated mee to come to eate; that what was passed was a Collation; that I must not depart till I had supped; which I easely agreed too. About an hower after cam to visitt him the Ambassador of one of the Decan kings, whom hee presented to mee, vsing him with Ciuilitye, but in a much inferiour manner

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[1] Shaikh Faríd-i-Bukhárí. He had rendered important services in securing Jahángír's accession, and had been rewarded with the command of 6,000 horse and the *súbah* of Gujárát, whence he was transferred to the Punjab in the fifth year of the reign. He died at Pathán, and was buried at Delhi.

In Hawkins' list already cited, he is called, by a copyist's or printer's error, "Sheik Serid."

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in respect of his fashion toward mee. Hee asked me if his Maiestie my Master would not take in scorne the offer of seruice from so poore a man and if hee would vouchsafe to accept of a Present from a stranger : for that hee would send a gentellman with mee to kysse his Maiesties handes and to see our Countrye. I answered him as became ciuilitye and good manners. So he sent for one Presently and questioned him if hee would venture the Iourney, who seeming willing hee presented to mee, and said hee would prouide some toyes of the Cuntrye for his Maiestie and send him in my Company. By the manner this seemed to me to be earnest. While wee thus spent tyme our Supper came, two Clothes beeing spread as in the morning, and before me and my Chaplayne[1] and one Merchant were sett diuers dishes of salletts and meate rost, fryed, boyld, and diuers rises. He desiered to bee excused : that it was their manner to eate among themselues : his Countrymen would take it ill if hee eate not with them. So hee and his guests, I and my Company solaced our selues with a good refreshing. The meate was not amisse, but the attendance and order much better, his seruants beeing very diligent and respectfull. Hee gaue me for a present, as is the manner when one is envited, 5 Cases of sugar Candy dressed with muscke, and one lofe of most fine sugar white as snow, about 50 *li.* weight :[2] desiering mee to accept of 100 of such against my goeing. Which, sayd he, you refuse of mee, thincking I am poore, but it costs me nothing : it is made in my Gouerment and Comes gratis to mee. I answered hee had too far already obliged me : that I would not refuse his Curtesye when I was ready to depart. Hee replyed hee might be then vnfurnished, and therfore desired I

[1] The Rev. John Hall, of whom see p. 245.

[2] "Spent in the howse-keeping" (Roe's Accounts).

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would nowe speake, that hee might not loose his offer and labour too. Thus professing himselfe my father and I his sonne, with Complements I tooke my leaue.

August 14.—I receiued lettres from Suratt,[1] beeing nothing but a bundell of contradictions to whatsoeuer motion I made in my opinion for the advancement of the Companys affayres, wherin I saw they tooke more pleasure to Argue then to execute, and to showe their witt and authoritye then to yeild to anything not of their owne propounding, their reasons beeing a mist of errors; with which they sent a formall resolution of Councell to abyde the Iniuryes and not to dissolue the factorye, presupposing neyther restitution of extortions, reparation of wronges, Payment of debt, nor confirmation of priuiledges, Contrary to their owne motions seuerally made, which beegatt the question,[2] which they now interpreted they intended that the Princes shipps should be taken, and I att Court; but that indiscret motion I could not tast. With these I receiued a confirmation of the Hollanders arriuall, with their opinions to haue me procure their disgrace (wherby I was sure they would seeke revenge, and the blame and hazard lye on vs) or els to consent that the expected Generall should beate them out,[3] contrary to that profession I euer made in Comparison of the Portugall that wee sought open and free trade without purpose to wrong any.. What was fitt to be done I had not neglected before this aduise, and found no reason to alter it. Want of Power saued mee much labour, but disadvantaged much our busines.

August 16.—I sent to Asaph chan for my promised

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[1] See *Surat Letterbook* (I. O. Records), under date of 23 July, 1616; a part has already been quoted (p. 166 *n.*). Roe is somewhat severe on the factors, whose letter is not quite so unreasonable as is here implied.

[2] See p. 191.

[3] See note on p. 229.

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Articles. Hee swoore by his God I should receiue them that night or the Morrow.

August 17.—I went to visitt the King, who, as soone as I came in, called to his woemen and reached out a picture of him selfe[1] sett in gould hanging at a wire gould Chaine, with one pendant foule pearle, which hee deliuered to Asaph chan, warning him not to demand any reuerence of mee other then such as I would willingly giue, it beeing the Custome, when soever hee bestowes any thing, the receiuer kneeles downe and putts his head to the ground[2] (which hath been exacted of the Embassadores of Persia). So Asaph Chan came to mee, and I offered to take it in my hand; but hee made signe to putt of my hatt, and then putt it about my neck, leading mee right before the king. I vnderstood not his purpose, but doubted hee would require the Custome of the Country called *Size-da*; but I was resolued rather to deliuer vp my present. Hee made signe to mee to giue the king thancks, which I did after my owne Custome. Wheratt some officers called me to *Size-da*, but the King answered no, no, in Persian. So with many gratious woordes sent mee, I returned to my place. You may now Iudg the kings liberallitye. This guift was not woorth in all 30 *li.*;[3] yet it was five tymes as good as any hee giues in that kynd, and held for an especiall fauour, for that all the great men that weare the kings Image (which none may doe but to whom it is giuen) receiue noe other then a meddall of gould as bigg as sixpence,[4] with a little chayne of 4 inches to

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[1] See p. 227.

[2] The *sijdah*, or prostration (see entry under date of Oct. 19, 1616).

[3] In a letter to the factors at Ahmadábád, Roe speaks of it as worth "not aboue 600 rupees;" and in one to Surat he reckons its value at about 500 or 600 rupees. This is double the value here assigned.

[4] These appear to be the "portrait-coins. . . . . in the nature of medals or presentation pieces" referred to in Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's *Moghul Emperors and their Coins*, p. lxxx.

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fasten it on their heads, which at their owne Chardg some sett with stones or garnishe with pendant Pearles.

August 18.—I receiued a warrant from the Prince for 5,500 *mamoodies*, part of Zulpheckcarcons debt.

August 19.—Gemal-din-vssin (who invited mee to Hauar Gemall[1]), beeing newly made Gouernor of Syndu, came to mee to dinner, with two sonns and two other gentellmen and about a hundred seruants. Hee eate some banqueting stuff made in my house by a moore Cooke, but would not tuch such meate as I had prouided of my owne fashion, though his appetite was very good; a kynd of superstition forbidding him. But hee desired mee that 4 or 5 dishes might bee sent to his house, such as hee would choose, beeing all backd meates which hee had neuer seene, and that hee would dine on them in priuatt; which was accordingly don. And soe, offering vs the Towne of Syndu and all other Curtesyes in his Power, hee made hast to fill his belly. I gaue him a small present according to Custome.[2]

This day soddenly dyed, to my great greife and discomfort, my minister Master Hall, a man of a most gentle and mild Nature, religious and of vnspotted life.[3] Hee had beene ill but 5 dayes, and that but easely. In the morning he had walked abroad, and lay downe in a Garden on the wett Earth, supposing him selfe in no danger. At noone hee eate with very good appetite. In two howers after he dyed. Thus it pleased God to lay a great affliction on mee and my famely for our sinnes, taking from vs the meanes

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[1] See p. 240.

[2] A book containing 48 sheets of pictures, "beeing the whole historie of our sauiour Christ," which cost in England 24*s*. (Roe's Accounts).

[3] "He was one of the best and quietest and humblest men that euer I knew," wrote Roe to the Company (November 24th, 1616). Little is known of him, except that he belonged apparently to Petersfield, in Hampshire; and that he graduated from Roe's own college (Magdalen) in 1600, and later became a fellow of Corpus Christi (see Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, and Terry's *Voyage*). He was only thirty-seven at the time of his death.

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of his blessed woord and Sacraments for our neglect of so heauenly benifitts, which was to mee (God knowes my hart) the heauiest punishment I did feele or feare in this Country.[1] Godes will be done. My houshould was sickly, my Cooke new dead, and I had as little Ioy or consolation as I beleiue any euer had, noe Comfort, no conuersation, no such dispatch in my busines as might giue me Creditt or Content, no such entertaynment as my qualetye required nor which might haue appeasd and made other inconueniences tollerable, no hope of proffitt in myne owne estate. This was all that made mee liue: a resolution to performe with an honest hart all I had vndertaken, according to my power, comitting my selfe wholy to my Creator.

August 20.—I dispatched answer to Suratt[2] with bills of 9,000 *mamoodies*[3] of Zulpheckcarcons debt and a Copy of his agreement, to showe such as hee Charged with part of the Goodes, though hee now stood bound for all; with those I sent the Persians *firmaen* for Iasques[4] and Copyes of all the proceedings therin, to bee ready att the arriuall of our fleete, if occasion required them, aduise about Barooch, the dutch, and all necessary busines.

This day and the night past, fell a storme of rayne called

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[1] The ambassador wrote at once to Surat for another chaplain. "Heere I cannot liue the life of an Atheist; lett mee desire you to endeauour my supply, for I will not abyde in this place destitute of the Comfort of Godes woord and heauenly Sacraments." The post was offered to Mr. Leske (see p. 168 *n.*), but he was unwilling to accept it. So the matter remained in abeyance until the arrival of Pepwell's fleet with two young ministers on board. "The graver of them," wrote the Surat factors to Roe (September 26th, 1616), "about 25 yeares of age, is Called Edward Terry; was a fellowe of Corpus Christi Colledg in Oxford. He is verry desirous to staye in the Countrye and . . . . would willingly imbrace your Lordshipps service. The Generall hath spoken to me in his behalfe and geuen him fayre Comendations." Thus it was to the occurrence of the vacancy at this time that we owe the *Voyage to East India*.

[2] The letter is given at f. 114 of the MS. Part of it has already been quoted on p. 167.

[3] One for 3,500 received on the 1st, and one for 5,500 which the Prince sent to Roe on the 18th.

[4] See p. 128.

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the *Oliphant*,[1] vsuall at goeing out of the raynes, but for the greatnes very extraordinarye, wherby ther rann such streames into the Tanck, whose head is made of stone, in show extreamly strong,[2] but the water was soe growne that it bracke over in one place and ther came an alarum and suddeyne feare that itt would giue way and drowne all that part of the Towne where I dwelt; in soe much that the Prince and all his woemen forsooke their house; my next neighbour carried away his wife and his goodes on his Eliphantes and Cammells to fly to the hillssyde. All men had their horses ready at their doores to saue their liues; so that wee were much frighted, and satt vp till midnight, for that wee had no helpe but to flye our selues and loose all our goodes, for it was reported that it would runne higher then the topp of my house by 3 foote and carry al away, beeing poore mudd buildings, 14 years past a terreble experience having showed the violence, the foote of the Tanck beeing leuell with our dwelling and the water extreame great and deepe, so that the topp was much higher then my house, which stood in the bottome in the Course of the water, euery ordinarie raine making such a Current at my doore that it runne not swifter in the Arches of London bridge and is for some howers impassible by horse or man. But God other wise disposed it in his Mercy. The king Caused a sluce to bee cutt in the

[1] At a consultation held September 3rd, 1637 (I. O. Marine Records, Misc. i), mention was made of "The Gennerall reports of all or most of the Cheefe Portugall Gentlemen and fryers as well of this place [Bombay] as others neere Aioyninge, That before the new Moone in September . . . . It was impossible for any shipp of Charge to gett Cleere of the Coast without apparent and eminent dainger (if Bound to the Southwards) By Reason they Constantly expect euery yeare at that Season an extraordinarie storm vpon the Coast, Called by them the *Elophant*, which Comes with such Vyolence and soe variable that noe Shipp or Vessell may pass without eminent dainger as aforesaid." Cp. also the quotations in Yule's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s.n. Thevenot explains the name as derived from the shape of the clouds at the time of the storm.

[2] The dam referred to can still be traced (H. B. W. Garrick in *Indian Archæological Survey Reports* (First Series), vol. xxiii, 46).

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night to ease the water another way. Yet the very rayne had washed downe a great part of the walls of my house, and soe weakened itt all by diuers breaches in, that I feared the fall more then the flood, and was soe moyled[1] with durt and water that I could scarce lye drye or safe, soe that I must bee enforced to be at new chardge in reparation. Thus were wee every way afflicted—fires, smokes, floodes, stormes, heate, dust, flyes, and no temperate or quiett season.

August 22.—I receiued from the Prince another warrant for 5,500 *mamoodies* formerly mentioned[2]; for that the first, it seemes, was not sufficient.

August 24.—I visited the king at the *Durbarr* and there demanded of Asaph chan the sealing of the Priuiledges long granted by the king and by him deferrd. I got his oathe to receiue them on the morninge.

August 26.—I went to the Prince to know the resolution of the Hollanders receptions, wher I found it was resolued that, by reason of the expectation of the shipes from the redd sea, Content should bee giuen them in trade, but as yet no factorye nor house of residence granted, other then a warehouse for the landing of their goodes.

August 27.—I went to Asaph chans, but he was among his woemen and came not that day abroad. I caused him to bee watched at night by Iaddowe, who tould him I had beene at his house and that if I receiued any more delayes I should bee enforced to Complayne. Hee excused him selfe with Complements enough that hee was very sorry, Commanding Iaddowe to lett him know ouernight whensoeuer I resolued to Com to him, and desiering him to

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[1] The usual sense of this word is "to defile with dirt," or (from the cause of this dirtying) "to drudge" ("Moile not too much under Ground."—Bacon's essay, *Of Plantations*). Here, however, we have the original sense of "to soften by moistening" (cp. Fr. *mouiller*).

[2] Page 245.

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satisfie me, for that on sunday, when hee spake with his sister Normall, the seale should bee giuen.

This day I receiued aduise from Suratt that noe end could bee made with the Customer for cloth rated, yet no desire to Complaine, for that the Gouernor had promised to Arbitrate the busines; and that a sayler of a frigott from Socatra reported that the English fleete was there ariued with 4 shippes and one Pinnase, the men sick and weake:[1] That the Gouernor of Suratt offered the Hollander arriued at the Barr to buy all his goodes by the great[2] and soe to dismisse him, which hee refused, requiring to bee receiued on all the same conditions and Priuiledges which the English enjoyed: To which was Answered that hee durst not Consent to that without warrant, the English havinge obteyned theire residence by sute: but to giue them Content they offered them a house to remayne in and to land their goodes, and leaue to trade vntill the Princes answere and resolution were knowne, on this Condition that, if his Highnes would not Consent, they should depart vpon the first warning, eyther in their owne shipp or, if shee wear gone, in the first Passadg to the Sowthward. The Conditions accepted, the Hollander came ouer the Barr at Swally and there Moored, resoluing to ride yt all weathers, and landed goodes daylie, pretending that hee would only this yeare buy Cloth and Comodityes for the sowthward, and be gonne with his shipp within 20 dayes, for that hee feared the Portugalles and had noe desier to bee found there by vs, but that if hee Could obteyne licence hee would leaue some Merchant in the Towne.[3] With

[1] The fleet of 1616, of which see later. The report was false, for the ships did not touch at Socotra.

[2] Wholesale.

[3] The desired permission was granted, for fear that otherwise the Dutch would retaliate on the native shipping. A stock of merchandise was accordingly landed and placed in the charge of a factor with three assistants, and the *Nassau* sailed for Bantam on August 30th.

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those lettres I receiued one from the Gouernor of Suratt, promising mee all frendship.

August 29.—The king went to Hauaz Jemall, and so a hunting. Ther was taken a resolution to remooue to Mandoe, a Castell neare Bramport, wher is no towne; for that Sultan Paruis, beeing come from the warr in disgrace, and beeing with his trayne neare Adsmere, the king Commanded him to Bengale, excusing himselfe to bee seene, and soe hauing dispatched him without such incomodytie as was feared would arise if the two brothers mett, he entended him selfe to settle Sultan Carome in the warrs of Decan, to which all the Cheefest were soe Contrary that the king feared to send him downe (as was the resolution some monthes past[1]) and therfore dissembled it vntill the other Prince were withdrawne and hee established by his owne Countenance, Comming so neare as Mandoa: which remooue, if it proceed, will putt vs to extreame trouble and Cost, for that wee must build a new house both for our selues and goodes, the Castell standing on a hill without any other buildings neare yt.

August 30.—The king returned in the night, and about 11 a Clock sent mee a very fatt wild boare, and so great that hee desiered the tuskes back, with this messadge that he kyld it with his owne hand, and that therfore I should eate it merrilye and make good Cheare. This occasion Iaddowe, that was sent for to the king to bring yt, tooke to tell Asaph chan that I desiered to visitt him on the morow, and hoped to receiue from his handes the Priuiledges granted by the king. He answered hee could not dispatch them so soone, but that they should on Sunday be sealed, and that he was loath to see me vntill he had giuen me Content.

They had bought little at Surat, as they found calicoes there to be dearer than in Java (*Surat Letterbook*, under date of August 20th and 31st, 1616; *Hague Transcripts*, Series I, vol. ii, No. 78; Van den Broecke, *Op sijne Reysen*, already quoted).

[1] See p. 192.

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August 31.—I went to the *Durbar* to visitt the king, and there I acquaynted Asaph chan with the newes I had receiued of our fleete at Socatra, that therfore in all probabilytyes they might by that day bee arriued at Suratt : that his long delay had much hindered our busines, for that I was resolued neyther presents nor goodes should be landed before I had receiued them.[1] Hee acquainted the king with the Comming of our fleete but with no Complaynt against him selfe, protesting on the Morrowe I should bee dispatched.

This day I receiued aduise from Agra, wher no Cloth no[r] Comoditye would vent, insomuch that factory spent moore then they tooke and is needlesse vntill the season of investing; but I had no power to saue you many a thousand *Rupies*.

September 1.—I sent for my Priuiledges, but receiuing another excuse of the kinges Natiuitye and a great feast for two dayes, I resolued I was abused, and so tooke this way to serue the present necessitye : I went to the Prince,

September 2. whose Port wee were att and with whom was our greatest busines, for what Priuiledges soeuer I obteyned without his fauour wee should still bee subiect to vexation and Iniury; I acquaynted him with the nearenes of our fleete, desiering his Command for their entertaynment and good vsadge, and that hee would grant vs such priuiledges as I would propound, or els I was resolued not to dischardge there.

Hee began roundly : that the former yeare he had beene neglected: that hee had Chosen that Gouerment only for the Ports sake, and yet euery body, eauen his owne men, were serued before him, which hee tooke in ill part: but if I would vndertake to him that whatsoeuer toyes came to bee sould might be first showed to him, hee would grant

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[1] The required concession of privileges from the king.

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mee my full desiers and giue such order that no man should in any sort molest vs, promising to take nothing from vs, only to satisfye his Curiositye: and to that end hee would giue mee a *firmaen* that whatsoeuer I would send for should come vntouched, unseene to my handes, soe that I would bringe them before him. I replyed concerning his fathers presents, and such others. Hee agreed to all reason, and requiring mee to giue him vnder my hand on the morrow my promises and demandes and hee would Confirme them, so that I should find him our best frend; soe with very good vsadges I departed. The promise and Conditions I drew the sam day and putt them into Persian for the Morrowe.

This day was the Birth of the king and solemnized as a great feast, wherin the king is weighed against some Iewelles, gould, siluer, stuffs of goulde [and ?] siluer, silke, butter, rice, frute, and many other things, of euery sort a little, which is giuen to the Bramini.[1] To this solemnitye the king commanded Asaph chan to send for mee, who so doeing appoynted mee to come to the Place wher the king sitts out at *Durbarr*, and there I should bee sent for in. But the Messenger mistaking, I went not vntill *Durbarr* tyme; and soe missed the sight. But beeing there before the king came out, as soone as hee spyed mee, hee sent to knowe the reason why I came not in, hee having geuen order. I answered according to the error, but hee was extreame angry and Chydd Asaph chan publiquely. He was so rich in Iewelles that I must confesse I neuer saw togither so vnvaluable wealth. The tyme was spent in bringing of his greatest Eliphantes before him, some of which, beeing Lord Eliphants, had their chaynes, belles, and furniture of Gould and siluer, attended with many guilt

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[1] See the account given in the following year. The festival is there spoken of as occurring on the *first* of September; this is apparently due to the difference between the two calendars.

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banners and flagges, and 8 or 10 Eliphantes wayting on him clothed in gould, silke, and siluer.[1] Thus passed about twelve Companyes most richly furnished, the first having all the plates on his head and breast sett with rubyes and Emeraldes, beeing a beast of a woonderfull stature and beauty. They all bowed downe befor the king, making reuerence very handsomly, and was a showe as woorthy as I euer saw any of beasts only. The keepers of euery Chefe Eliphant gaue a present. So with gratious complements to mee he rose and went in.

At night about 10 of the Clock hee sent for mee. I was abedd. The message was : hee hard I had a picture which I had not showed him, desiering mee to Come to him and bring yt, and if I would not giue it him, yet that hee might see yt and take Coppyes for his wiues. I rose and carryed yt with mee. When I came in I found him sitting crosse leggd on a little throne, all cladd in diamondes, Pearles, and rubyes ; before him a table of gould, on yt about 50 Peeces of gould plate sett all with stones, some very great and extreamly rich, some of lesse valew, but all of them almost couered with small stones ; his Nobilitye about him in their best equipage, whom hee Commanded to drinck froliquely, seuerall wynes standing by in great

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[1] Cp. Hawkins's *Relation*, p. 425 ; also the following passage from the MS. diary of John Jourdain, who was at Agra in 1611 (Brit. Mus. *Sloane MS.* 858, f. 55) : "The kinge hath every 24 howers a fresh guard both of men and woemen ; every nobleman takes his tourne to bee cheefe of the watch for 24 houres, and every daie aboute 5 in the afternoone they doe their dutie to the kinge and soe departe. The kinges Elaphanntes doe also keepe watch and come as dulie to the kinge to doe their dutye as the men ; for when the kinge beholdes them they all att once putt their trunckes over their heades, giueinge the *Salam* to the kinge ; then they departe, for they will not be gone before the kinge lookes on them. Then they March by degrees with their pages before them and there wiues after them. Every Elaphannt Riall hath two or four younge elaphanntes for their pages and two wiues, which followe them, alias shee Elaphanntes. They are very Ritchlie trapped with veluett, Cloth of gould and other Ritch stuffes."

The muster of elephants is elaborately described in the *Áin-i-Akbari* (Blochmann, vol. i, 213).

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flagons. When I came neare him, hee asked for the Picture. I showed him two. Hee seemed astonished at one of them ; and demanded whose it was. I answered a frend of myne that was dead. Hee Asked mee if I would giue it him. I replied that I esteemed it more then any thing I possessed, because it was the Image of one that I loued dearly and Could neuer recouer : but that if his Maiestie would pardon mee my fancy and accept of the other, which was a french picture but excellent woorke, I would most willingly giue it him. Hee sent me thancks, but that it was that only picture hee desiered, and loued as well as I, and that if I would giue it him hee would better esteeme of it then the richest Iewell in his house. I answered I was not soe in loue with anything that I would refuse to Content his Maiestie : I was extreame glad to doe him seruice, and if I could giue him a better demonstration of my affection, which was my hart to doe him seruice, I was ready to present it to him. At which hee bowed to mee and replyed it was sufficient that I had giuen it : that hee confessed hee neuer sawe so much arte, so much bewty, and Conjured mee to tell him truly whither euer such a woeman liued. I assuered him ther did one liue that this did resemble in all things but perfection, and was now dead.[1] He returned mee

[1] The identity of the lady thus referred to is an interesting question. Roe's description of her is so lover-like that one may presume her to have been no other than his lately-wedded wife. She was a daughter of Sir Thomas Cave, of Stanford in Northamptonshire, and had been married in 1610 to Sir George Beeston (Nichol's *Leicester*, iv, 352). The date of her subsequent marriage to Roe I have not been able to discover, but probably it was just before his departure for India. As first shewn by a passage in one of Carew's letters (Maclean's edn., p. 79), pointed out by Mr. S. Lane-Poole, the marriage was kept a secret; and this, together with the fact that she had a pension from the Exchequer of £200 a year in her own right (Brit. Mus. *Harl. MS.* 2039, f. 179), explains why Roe made no provision for any payment to her from his salary during his absence. In a letter (undated, but apparently written towards the end of 1616) Roe refers to their separation and the embarrassing position in which his wife was placed,

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that hee tooke my willingnes very kindly, but that, seeing I had soe freely giuen him that I esteemed so much, hee would not robb mee of yt: only hee would show yt his ladyes and Cause his woorkmen to make him 5 Coppyes, and if I knew myne owne I should have yt. I answered I had freely and willingly giuen it and was extreamly gladd of his Maiesties acceptance. He replyed hee would not take yt: that hee loued mee the better for louinge the remembrance of my frende, and knew what an injurye it was to take it from mee; by noe means hee would not keepe yt, but only take copyes, and with his owne hand hee would returne yt, and his wiues should weare them; for indeed in that arte of limninge

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"My absence was a fault, but wee tooke one another on condition ... If her mother and all her freindes persecute her for my sake, her constant vertue will bee more honoured and I bound to a stricter gratitude. If I retorne, they may repent it." He begs his (unknown) correspondent to visit her and her uncle, "to whose discretion I haue referrd her and the revealing of the mariage" (Brit. Mus. *Harl. MS.* 1576, f. 514). The resolution to keep the matter secret would also account for the ambassador's diplomatic statement that the original of the miniature "was now dead." In one of his letters to Sir Thomas Smythe (who was doubtless in his confidence) he asks that "my lady" may have her choice of some quilts after Smythe has made his own selection; and letters in the British Museum (*Egerton MS.* 2086, f. 45, and *Harl. MS.* 1576, *ut supra*) show that Roe received a packet from her by the 1616 fleet, entrusted to the care of William Methwold. These are the only references to her which I have been able to discover during the period of the embassy. By the time of Roe's return all necessity for concealment had evidently disappeared; for (as will be seen later) his wife met him on landing, and accompanied him to town. They were never again separated. She shared his long exile at Constantinople, and her intrepid behaviour during a sharp engagement with Algerine pirates on the return voyage is proudly related by her husband, whose references to her are always charged with the tenderest feeling. How much she was to him cannot be better shown than by the words of his will: "here I take my last leave of her, my most faithful, loving, and discreet companion in all the troubles and infirmities of my life, beseeching God that we may meet in the joys of heaven; and I desire that my whole will may be interpreted for her best advantage, for I am not otherwise able but with love to requite her merits to me." Lady Roe survived her husband over thirty years, dying in December, 1675; she left special instructions that she was to be buried by his side, "in as private a manner as he was;" and they rest together in that nameless grave in Woodford Church.

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his Paynters woorke miracles. The other beeing in oyle he liked not.

Then he sent me woord it was his byrth day and that all men did make merry, and to aske if I would drinck with them. I answered: what soeuer his Maiestie Commanded: I wished him many prosperous dayes, and that this Ceremonye might be renewed 100 years. Hee asked mee what wyne, whether of the grape or made, whither strong or small. I replyed: what hee Commanded, hoping hee would not Command to much nor too strong. So hee Called for a Cupp of Gould of mingled wyne, halfe of the Grape, halfe Artificiall, and dranck, causing it to bee fylld and sent it by one of his Nobles to mee with this message: that I should drinck it twice, thrice, four or five tymes off for his sake, and accept of the Cupp and apurtenances as a present. I dranck a little, but it was more strong then euer I tasted, so that it made mee sneese; wherat hee laughed and Called for reasons, almondes, and sliced lemons, which were brought mee on a Plate of gould, and hee bad mee eate and drinck what I would, and no more. Soe then I made reuerence for my present after myne owne manner, though Asaph chan would haue caused mee kneele, and knocke my head against the grownd, but his Maiestie best accepted what I did. The Cupp was of gould, sett all ouer with small Turkyes and rubies, The couer of the same sett with great turquises, rubyes and Emeraldes in woorks, and a dish suteable to sett the Cupp vpon. The valew I know not, because the stones are many of them small, and the greater, which are also many, are not all Cleane, but they are in Number about 2,000 and in gould about 20 oz.[1]

[1] Terry (p. 397) mentions the presentation, and takes occasion to reprehend the Mogul's niggardliness "unto my Lord Ambassadour, whom he ever used with very much respect, and would moreover often ask him why he did not desire some good and great gifts at his hands, he being a great King, and able to give it: the Ambassadour would reply, that he came not thither to beg any thing of him: all that he

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Thus hee made frolique and sent me woord hee more esteemed mee than euer any Francke; and demanded if I were mery at eating the wild bore sent mee a few dayes before? How I dresd it? What I dranck? and such Complements: that I should want nothing in his land; which his Publique and many graces I found presently in the fashion of all his Nobilitye. Then hee threw about to those that stood below two Chargers of new *rupyes* and among vs two Chargers of hollow Almondes of gould and siluer mingled;[1] but I would not scramble as did his great men; for I saw his sonne tooke vp none. Then hee gaue *shashes*[2] of gould and girdles to all the musitians and wayters and to many others. So drincking and commanding others, his Maiestie and all his lordes became the finest men I euer saw, of a thousand humors. But his sonne, Asaph chan and some two ould men and the late king of Candahor[3] and my self forbare. When hee Could

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desired was that his Countrey-men, the English, might have a free, safe, and peaceable trade in his Dominions. The Mogol would answer that he was bound in honour to afford them that, we coming from the furthermost parts of the world to trade there; and would often bid the Ambassadour to ask something for himself; who to this would answer, that if that King knew not better to give, than he knew to ask, he must have nothing from him. Upon these terms they continually both stood; so that in conclusion the Ambassadour had no gift from him, but that before mentioned [the cup and stand], besides an horse or two, and sometimes a Vest, or upper garment, made of slight Cloath of Gold, which the Mogol would first put upon his own back, and then give it to the Ambassadour. But the Mogol (if he had so pleased) might have bestowed on him some great Princely gift, and found no greater miss of it, than there would be of a Glasse of water taken out of a great Fountain. Yet although the Mogol had such infinite Treasures, yet he could finde room to store up more still; the desires of a covetous heart being so unsatiable, as that it never knows when it hath enough; being like a bottomlesse purse, that can never be fill'd, for the more it hath, the more still it covets."

[1] Cp. Clavijo's *Embassy to the Court of Timúr* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), pp. 139, 146.

[2] Turban-cloths. "Shashes are long towells of Callico wound about their heads" (Sandys's *Travels*, p. 63).

[3] Mirza Rustam, a Persian prince (great-grandson of Sháh Ismáíl), who, finding his position at Kandahar precarious, had in 1593 made over the city to Akbar, receiving in exchange the *súbah* of Múltán and other dignities. Kandahar was recovered by the Persians in 1621.

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not hould vp his head, hee lay downe to sleepe and wee all departed. At goeing out I mooued Asaph Chan for dispatch of my Priuiledges, assuring him his Maiestie could giue mee no present so acceptable; if hee pleased not to dispatch mee (which I doubted not if it lay in his power) but that some other hinderance was in my way, I would on the morrow mooue the king. Hee desiered mee not to doe soe, for the king loued mee and had giuen order for yt: that the preparation of this feast had hindered him, but that now hee would send it mee, and doe mee all seruice.

September 3.—I went to the Prince and deliuered the Conditions demanded on my part, and withall a breefe of what I required in his *firmaen;* to all which hee agreed. I gaue him for a Present a siluer watch very small,[1] which he tooke kyndly; but tould mee the Pictures I showed his father the night before, If I had giuen him, hee would haue better accepted then any thing; demanding if I had no more. I answered they were toyes, only valewable in my fancy, which I neuer purposed to giue, nor esteemed them woorthy presents for Princes: but that, showeing them for the arts sake to the Paynter, hee had enformed the king and so his Maiestie had Commanded them: that I had but only that which his Maiestie had returned, which should bee at his seruice. At night I sent to his secretary for the *firmaen;* who promised in two dayes to finish yt.

The Copy of the conditions demanded by the Prince on my part, and therewith what I required of him to be expressed in his Firmae, deliuered him as aforsaid.[2]

Most excellent Prince,

Wheras your highnes doubts the good respect I and my nation bear your excellency, I humbly desire you to beleeue that

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[1] Cost £7 (Roe's Accounts).

[2] There is another copy in the I. O. Records (Pepwell's Letter-book). The two are practically identical.

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I will doe all my endeauour to giue you Content and satisfaction, and your highnes may therto bee perswaded, because the cheefe Place of our residence and the Port of our shipes is in your highnes dominion and therfore it is most requisite by all meanes for our owne good to seek your fauour. For the tyme past, neyther the most famous King my lord and Master could know, nor the Merchannts in England, that your highnes was the lord of Suratt, it beeing newly giuen you; and therefore I hope your highnes will not take any thing in ill part, assuring your excellency that his Maiestie the King of England will both send your highnes very acceptable presents and receiue very kyndly your good vsage of his subjects, beeing your frend and Confederate; and I also his Ambassador will take care and endeauour to giue your highnes all due respect, and that whatsoeuer I can procure woorthy your seeing shalbe brought before your eyes and bee at your disposing. The Goodes comming in our fleetes are of three sorts. One are presents sent by my lord and master to the Kings Maiestie, your Royall father, and to your highnesse, which I desire your highnes wilbe pleased to grant your *firmaen* that they may bee sealed only by your officers and soe deliuered to the English to bee sent vp to mee vnsearchd or without violence, beeing the presents of a king, that I may according to my duty present them to the King and your highnes. Other toyes are sent to mee to giue to our frendes heare, and for the Merchants to sell, all which if your highnes will alsoe giue your Command that they may be sealed and sent vp, I will truly bring them before your highnes that yow may take your choyce of what soeuer pleaseth you, and I will send my Command to search the shipes for all things that are rare to present them to you before any other shall see them. And wheras some thinges may bee the goodes of priuatt men, which I cannot take away, I will also Command that such bee brought before Abram chan, that hee may buy them for your highnes, desiering that hee may haue order to pay for them to the owners, who are to depart with the shipes. In all this I giue your highnes my woord I will performe it faythfully. The last sort is Cloth, Quicksiluer, Marfill,[1] and other marchandice, for which I desire your highnes Command that it may be landed and rated reasonably, and that it be not detayned in the Custome house to the great losse of the Merchantes, but satisfyeing your highnes customes may haue free liberty to sell and transport yt without trouble; and that our people may not be misused but haue leaue to passe freely to their shipes and to buy fresh victualls without custome, wherin I desire your highnes will giue Command that the Country People may haue liberty to bring meate to sell at Swally, for that [after]

[1] See note on p. 22.

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a long voyadge there are many sick and weake. And lastly, that your highnes will giue Command to the Customer to pay for such goodes as hee hath agreed for the last yeare, wherin by his hard vsage the Merchantes haue susteyned great losse; and your highnes shall find both my selfe and all my Nation most ready to doe you all seruice.

September 4.—I receiued my Articles back from Asaph chan, who tooke now att last many exceptions, and margined them with his Pen in most Insolent sort, scorning that any man should article att all; saying it was sufficient for mee to receiue a *firmaen* from the Prince, who was lord of Suratt, and for lycence to trade at any other Port, of Bengala or Syndu, it should neuer be granted; but in Conclusion pretended the length and forme to be such as would offend the king. Some Articles hee consented too, and to them, beeing reducd to the forme of a *firmaen*, hee would procure yt sealed. Now is it easy to Judg what vexation it is to trafique with these faythlesse people: 7 Mounthes I had promise from weeke to weeke, from day to day, and no exception; but fynding I had so drawne them that I should nott much neede the Prince and if wee disliked wee might refuse his Gouerment, Hee vtterly renounced his woord in Chollar and rage. I durst not yet leaue him nor take notice of his falshood. He that first took him for our sollicitor engaged vs into this miserye,[1] knowing him to be the protector of our enemyes and a slaue to bribes, which they multiply vpon him. But now I had a woolfe by the eares. I seemed only to apprehend his dislike of the lenght and Phrase, and sent him a lettre to enterprett mee, and a breefe of the substance of all required on their

[1] A hit at Kerridge, who, on going up to court in 1613, had accepted Ásaf Khán's offer of assistance in his business and "founde him reasonable and honest." Subsequently, at his own request, Ásaf Khán was allowed to present Edwards to the Mogul, "yett Continewed to be the Portingals agent also" (Kerridge to Roe, July 23rd, 1616).

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parts conteyned in generall woordes, touching only such particulars as hee liked, and left quite out all the Conditions demanded formerly by him of mee, desiering him to putt it in forme, and procure the seale, or to giue me leaue to receiue my owne deniall from the king, and soe to depart the Countrie. These I finished in Persian the same day and sent them to him. They are recorded in their order.

The Copy of my new Demands upon refusall of the former Articles[1] *sent this 4th of September,* 1616.[2]

Wheras the most famous King of England hath sent his Ambassador to our Court with lettres to desire our frendship and to giue leaue for free trade for all his subjectes in all parts of our Dominions, which wee take in good part, and are willing to consent vnto, wee therfore Command all our Gouernors and officers of all our kingdomes to receiue the said subjects of the King of England with frendshipp and to suffer them to land their goodes in Peace and to assist them with fresh victualles for their mony, without taking any Custome for the said victualles, and, having soe landed any goodes and satisfyed for the duties of the Port according to agreement, they may haue liberty to sell to any person, in which the Gouernor nor any other shall not hinder them, nor force them to sell at a lower Price then they shall bee Content withall, not taking any things from them without payment. And further wee Command that the said English may freely passe and goe with their goodes to sell them in any place at their pleasure, and that noe exaction bee taken from them as they passe, having payd their dutyes at the Port: and that they alsoe may buy any goodes in this Country and carry downe and into their shipes, without any manner of vexation or payment, but only at their Port. And further wee Command that such Presents as shalbe sent vnto vs by the King of England shall not bee opened nor searched by any body, but having beene sealed by the Gouernor shalbe sent to the Ambassador resident at our Court to be deliuered to vs, taking no Custome for them. And that, if any English shall dye in any of our dominions, wee Command that no confiscation bee made of any of their monyes or goodes, but they shall remayne to the factors that are liuing,

[1] See p. 152.
[2] A comparison with another copy (I. O. Records: Pepwell's Letterbook) confirms the material accuracy of this transcript. The covering letter to Āsaf Khān is given at f. 118 of the MS.

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or, if ther bee none aliue, the officers of the Place of their residence shall take note in writing of all such monyes, goodes, boockes, bills of debt, and Papers as shalbe found in their house, which beeinge sealed vp shalbe deliuered to the English at their request. And finally wee Command that no manner of Iniury bee any way offered them: but that they may quiettly buy, sell, trade, and passe vp and downe in our dominions without any extortion, payment, or hinderance what soeuer, but only the duties of the Port wher they land or ship their goodes. This wee strictly Command and Chardge, because it is our Gratious Pleasure to Content our frend the King of England, as by our lettres wee haue heretofore promised on our royall woord, and therefore wee expect that no man dare to break our said Gratious Command.

September 5.—Mochrebchan sent to speake with mee, who reauealed to mee in great frendship that Asaph chan was our enemy, or at beste a false frend: that hee had faltered with mee in my busines with the king: that hee would vndertake yt and effect yt. I gaue him thancks and seemed to accept of yt; but yet I had hope of Asaph Chan, or at least was not Cleare of him, because the New demandes were in his hand, and I knew his Power, but how to trust the other I as little knew. Besides hee was to depart to the Gouerment of Amadauaz within ten dayes, and so, when I had declared a defection from Asaph chan, hee would leaue mee without any frend. I resolued to bee driuen by Necessytye.

September 7.—I went to visitt the King.

September 8.—Asaph chan sent mee that answer that absolutly hee would procure nothing sealed that any way Concerned the Princes Gouerment: that I should only expect from him what wee desired, whose *firmaens* were sufficient. And so reauealed that purpose which hee had long in practice to make vs wholy depend on the Prince. Now I had Just Cause too looke out, and was blamles if I sought new frendes when hee had forsaken mee. I resolued to try the Prince, and to seeme to depend wholy on him, having sent formerly to his secretary fower Clauses to

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which I demanded his *firmaen* for our present vse at Suratt for the fleete expected, which his Highnes had agreed too.

September 10.—I went to the Prince, who Cast downe to the secretary the *firmaen* by mee desiered and promised; so that I hoped I had beene at rest.

September 11.—I receiued yt, but when I read it, it was in two of the 4 Clauses demanded and promised much different, and one whole branch left out. Soe I returned yt with a round answere I would not accept yt, nor suffer any goodes to Come a shore. Neuer man had to doe with soe much Pride, Covetousnes and falshood. At night I rode to Merze Socorolla, the Princes Secretarie, to expostulate the busines and to declare my resolution of departure; but I found the *firmaen* not such as I was enformed, but Conteyning all the Clauses required by mee, though in the Phrase to my Judgment somewhat restrayned; which hee expounded in the best sence, declaring that it was the Princes entent to satisfie my desier fully and that it was sufficient. I urdged the obscurnes of some poynts, desiering him, as hee had cleared his Highnes meaning to mee, soe hee would by his lettre to the Gouernor of Suratt, which hee granted, principally Commanding that the Customer should pay for 50 Clothes, which hee had many mounths since bought and now would returne them vnto the factors to their extreame losse. In the end hee opened the ould poynt of the Princes desire that I should rely on him, and not Crosse him in busines of his Gouerment with the King, and I should fynd him a better frend then I expected; and finally gaue mee such satisfaction in all poynts that I was both pleased and in some hope of good successe; the rather because hee is no briber, reputed honest, and did vndertake on his Creditt (to whom the Prince had referrd all busines) that wee should not susteyne the loss of one

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Pice nor any the least Iniurye. So I accepted the *firmaen*, which vpon translating I found very effectuall.

September 12.—I receiued this lettre from Socorolla to Suratt, so Punctuall and playne in our behalfe, Commanding the Gouernor to pay all ould debts of Zulpheck-carcons yeare, and that if any remaynd there that had not giuen vs Content, the difference should bee examined, the English satisfyed, and the wrong certefyed to the Prince, that gaue mee more Confidence. Whervpon I dispeeded the *firmaen* and lettre with myne owne to Suratt to meete the expected Generall, encouraging him to land his goodes bouldly vpon such Conditions as I sent vnto him, which the Prince had required on my part. And if I bee not deceiued our busines was neuer in so probable a way, because hee that requires conditions to be performed is more lickely to fullfill his owne then hee that carelessely leaues all things at liberty, to whom all things are lawfull. Concerning other Priuiledges I am resolued to vse the Prince and doubt not to effect that by him which himselfe hath Crossed and resisted.

This day two of our factors went to Agra to invest some mony. I had no authoritye, but by much perswasion and dispute I ouercome them, for in Cash was very little, and they resolued to linger vntill the arriuall of the shipes or receipt of mony for goodes sould, which could not bee gotten in two mounthes, too late to buy goodes and send it to Suratt this yeare. I preuayled so farr as to make them vnderstand the losse of tyme, and to take so much mony vp of the *Sheraffes*[1] for two mounths as was due at Adsmere, to dispeed goodes to our Port. The interest is not the 100th part of the Chardge the Company beare in attending five mounthes with a fleete for the fitting and safety of on ship ; and I can prooue that this yeare

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[1] *Shroffs*, money-changers and bankers.

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(which was yet most backward) a lading might haue beene ready at Suratt by the 30th of September, so that our fleete nede not to haue stayed aboue 20 dayes.[1] So should they haue been free from the danger of enemies, that Cannot attempt them so suddenly; the shipes to the Sowthward might proceed in their voyadg, and make quicker returnes for England by a yeare, loosing the season in their abode here, which would gayne and saue the Company in the vse of their stocke in wages and other expence 20,000 *li.* yearly. This I can proue without any Coulor of Contradiction. For if 4,000 *li.* had been taken vp and employed at Amadavaz and Barooch (whoose broad Cloth is fitter for England then *Semianoes*,[2] which are false and beaten full of holes) with those monyes made from Suratt and Brampore, and our factors here had two mounthes sooner beene ruled, this had beene accomplished; the debt at Agra, the sales at Adsmere would haue payd; what had been oweing below more then goodes sould, it had beene better to haue taken so much mony out of the fleete to pay yt, then so much to invest after the arriuall, which course last yeare stayed Captain Keeling 5 mounthes or no ship had beene despatched. And now if I had suffered them to stay the receipt of mony, from Agra nothing had beene done, but the stock had layne dead till another yeare. I know not what blindes your seruantes. They pretend want of authoritye to take vp mony, for no man can plead against the benefitt gott by yt. This error last yeare was more grosse, when Master Edwardes had in

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[1] The Surat factors, however, asserted that at the time in question Agra was the only place where English credit was sufficiently good to enable a loan to be obtained for such a purpose, and there only a small amount could be procured without heavy security. It is easily intelligible that the natives, knowing how precarious the position of the English had been ever since their arrival, should have been unwilling at this time to venture their money, even at a high rate of interest.

[2] A coarse kind of piece-goods, used for awnings and sometimes, it would seem, for sails.

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Cash almost 4,000 *li.* 3 Months, and invested none vntill our ariuall. I did my endeauour to perswade, but you left mee so little creditt among them that whatsoeuer I motioned was contradicted, eauen to show their authoritye. This fault I touched to the Generall, and the error of factoryes, for your Chardge here is extreame and vnne[ce]ssarye. I know your busines may bee effected with more reputation with halfe the Chardge and with extreame ease; but this seemes a Paradox to your factors, but is such truth that if hee[1] heare mee, or my Creditt Can prevayle, you shall feele the profitt; and though in this I transgresse your order to meddle in the Merchandize, yet I cannot beleeue it is fitt for mee to see you wronged by weaknes and to say: I knowe how, but may not help it. It was not your purpose to hurt your selues, but to restrayne mee from wasting your stock; but experience hath manifested I haue more saued yt and sought to husband yt, then all those to whome it was entrusted, sparing eauen my owne allowances and necessaries to advance yours.

September 13.—I went to Mochrebchan, and Carried both the first articles and the breefe of them, desiering him to reade them and tell me his opinion, because that Asaph Chan obiected that there were many things in them would distast the king; and, if hee found them no way vnreasonable nor vnfitt, that hee would acquainte the king with my Comminge to visitt him: that I was much discontent and very sadd; but to proceede to noe particulars, for displeasing the Prince, but in generall to signifye that somewhat was amisse, and soe, recommending our cause to his Maiesties fauour, to giue the king occasion to demand of mee or Asaph chan the reason of my dislikes.

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[1] The General (Pepwell). Roe's letter, dated September 10th, 1616, is given at f. 118 of Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115; there are also copies in the Factory Records (Miscellaneous, vols. 8 and 10) at the India Office.

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For to engage or accept of Mochrebchans offer to procure the seale in Spight of the other faction I knew was both vanetye and bragges, without power to effect yt or Courage in him to vndertake yt; or if such foolhardines for our sakes should posses him to mooue the king and to gett yt, yet the Prince would recalle yt, and my New solicitor beeing departed to his Gouerment I should be left not only destitute but a declared enemy to those that had most power to hurt mee. All this hee promised.

September 15.—This day the Portugalls house was fiered and burnt downe, not sauing their Cloathes nor goodes nor Iewells that remayned vnsould; yet the losse did not amount aboue 7 or 8,000 *rupias*.

September 16.—I visited the Prince, purposing yet to runne on in a way of seeming dependance on him, vntill I heard from our shipes and what entertaynment they were like to receiue this yeare. I found him sadd, fearing the Cominge of Sultan Paruis to Court, beeing within 8 *course* and importuned to kisse his fathers hands, who had granted him, but by the power of Normall was after diswaded and a Command sent that the Prince should take his Journy right to Bengal; yea, although the King had fallen downe and taken his Mistris[1] by the feete to obteyne her leaue to see his sonne.

The Kings remooue continued, but whither noe man could certainly resolue.

September 17.—I went to the Kings *Durbar*, hoping Mochrebchan had giuen occasion to the King to aske mee some questions, but hee had not spoken; and Asaph chan, as soon as the king appeared, departed. Rumor reported that the King Commanded him away in displeasure; but I found no such matter on the morrowe.

September 18.—I sent to Mochrebchan, who returned

[1] Núr Mahál. Purchas (or his printer) made nonsense of the passage by turning "mistris" into "mother."

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my Papers with his Judgment that therin was nothing Conteyned at which the King could take exceptione, but that the Prince would fynd his liberty at Suratt therby restreyned: That he had not spoken to the king, but at his taking leaue hee would not fayle.

September 19.—Mochrebchan tooke his leaue and departed to his Tents a *Course* out of Towne; soe that I must attend his answere.

September 23.—I went 4 *Course* after Mochrebchan to take my leaue. But hee had not spoken to the King according to promise; excusing himselfe that hee beeing to depart and so not able to goe thorough with that hee had begunn, it would rather rayse Jelouses then doe good: That at my first comminge I was ill aduised to vse Asaph chan, who was knowne to bee the Portugalls frend and had his factors in Goa.[1] But that since it was not to be remedyed, hee would Commend our cause to his frend Abdala Hassan[2] by lettre, who should effect all our busines to Content. This man was both able to doe yt, and vncorrupt. But I feared hee following noe mans busines would not for our sakes crosse the Power of Asaph chan; but the others Confidence made mee accept of the lettre to keepe by mee, and to vse as occasion advised me. And soe, recommending our factory at Amadauaz to his fauour,[3] I tooke leaue. But yet I stood in feare of my

[1] In a letter to Roe of July 23rd, 1616, Kerridge declared that Ásaf Khán had first brought himself into notice by gratifying the Mogul's eagerness for novelties. "It hath been his policy to fauour strangers and, wantinge better meanes, in his first risynge made them Instrumentes of his further grace; for, knowinge the Kinges extraordinarye delight in Toyes, acquaintinge himself with the Iesuytes and Portingals (after his sisters admittance to the *Sarralya*), he brought their presentes, suytes, and them to the Kinge, bargayning for their Juells, etc., therby expressinge his abillitye and better partes (till then obscure), which, by his sisters meanes, in short tyme purchased this allyance [with the Prince] and advaunced him to high offices" (I. O. Records: *Surat Letter-book*, f. 50).

[2] See p. 184.

[3] "Mochrebchan. . . . . hath vowed by all his Godes," wrote Roe to the factors at Ahmadábád, "that you shalbe as his sonns and no

ould frend, to whom if I had neuer beene engaged, it was at first free for mee and had beene no discourtesye to make my owne Choyce, but now to forsake him would doubtless leaue him myne enemy. Our busines for the Present standing on good tearmes by my last agreement with the Prince, I determined to rest, and with patience to watch the aduantage of many supposed and expected Changes, and to Temporize withall vntill I saw the fruict of the Princes promises by the vsage of our fleete lookd for, and that the supply of presents were Come to my hand; for then both the king is easye and all about him soe slauish to bribes that I knew I could take my choyse of New, or returne with grace to my ould sollicitor; and then vpon deliuery of a New lettre from the King my Master, I would once more present and urdge my generall desires. The Prince I entended Cheefely to make sure vnto vs, but now hee is ready to depart for Decan, and the king some other way, wherby, as hee cannot bee my assistant here, so will hee expect some agent to attend him, and I feare that all presents and whatsoeuer els is landed shall first be brought to him, while hee is lord of the Port, which wilbe both a great inconuenience and disgrace to our goodes. But I entend to sound his purpose and maynly to oppose yt, if it runne that way. I am not sent to him but to the king. Hee would make mee, if not his seruant, yet to cast my reguard wholy toward him.

September 24.—I received lettres from Agra, of the rising of Indico 5 *rupies* in a *manne*,[1] as it always doth at buying tyme; but, seeing the Company was at Chardge to keepe

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injurie offered you shalbe vnrequited. . . . . The Prince hath alsoe entrusted to him a superintendency ouer Suratt, wherin hee will fauour vs all hee may. Hee is departed hence in much grace and, in my judgment, with the Kings very good opinion" (MS., f. 123).

[1] *Maund*, a weight which has been current in Western Asia from time immemorial. It varied immensely at different periods and in different localities. At Ahmadábád about this time the *maund* of

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a factorie ther all this yeare to no purpose, if they had taken vp mony to buy at the best hand and at leysure, besides the dispatch of our shipping they had saued in price eight in the hundreth aboue the interest. Yet I wished that the Merchannts would proceed to investure according to their last purpose.

September 25.—I Received lettres from Amadavaz, signifieing their imployments, which will rise to 800 *ch*[*urls*];[1] so that had the mony due here beene taken vp and employed in tyme, and at Amadavas but 20,000 *rupias*, to haue beene paid out of the shipes at arriuall, it is euident that a lading had beene ready by this day at Suratt, and the goodes in both parts bought at better rates by ten and twelve in the hundred.

This Night I went to visitt the King, and was vsed by

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indigo was 32 lbs. (*Letters Received by the E. India Co.*, vol. ii, 214, &c.). Mitford in 1615 gives its equivalent at Surat as 30⅝ lbs., the "great" *maund* being about 50 lbs. (I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 273).

[1] The *churl* (bundle, or, as the English factors called it, fardle) was the unit by which indigo was bought and sold. Sir Henry Yule (*Diary of William Hedges*, vol. iii, p. 171 *n.*) calculated its weight to be about 140 lbs. avoirdupois, or 3½ *maunds* of Cambay or Surat. It appears, however, from Kerridge's letters (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 9366, f. 32) that there were two kinds of *churls*, a less and a greater, the former being four *maunds* in weight, the latter a little over five. A letter of 1615 (I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 272) makes the *churl* of Biana indigo equal to six *maunds*.

It would seem that in packing their first cargo of indigo (that sent home by the *Hope* early in 1615) the Surat factors shipped the *churls* just as they were received. This resulted in loss of stowage room, and brought down upon them a rebuke from the home authorities. "Though it be true," wrote the Company, "that the Guzerattes doe soe pack their Indicoes which they Carry into the red sea, yett they which Carrye it by waye of Persia for Alleppo doe pack it in square chestes with two *Churlles* in everye Chest, which Chestes are made Lattisewise of a Rounde bryar [bamboo ?], verry stronge, yett light and good Cheape, being filled into a Callicowe bagg within, and without Covered with a Skinne, as their round *Churles* are; which by being square and of an equall sise will stowe as Close as any other Ladinge in our shippes. From Aleppo likewise for England we doe vse to newe packe them in that manner in square Chestes made of Purpose verry thinn and light" (I. O. Records: *Surat Letters Sent*, 1616-17, f. 90).

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Asaph chan and his father with much false Curtesye; but I tooke it for Currant pay.

September 30.—I went to visitt the Prince in the Morning, and tooke with mee the bill of Zulpheckcarcons debt, of which 6 or 7,000 *mamoodies* was behinde, and made offer to Complayne; but Mirze Socorolla perswaded me that, wee beeing now in good termes with the Prince, hee would take it ill to heare more publique exclamations on his seruant: that hee had written to Suratt to know what part other men had receiued of the goodes, and vpon answer, which hee dayly expected, hee would see vs satisfyed. At night I went to the *Durbar* to see the King.

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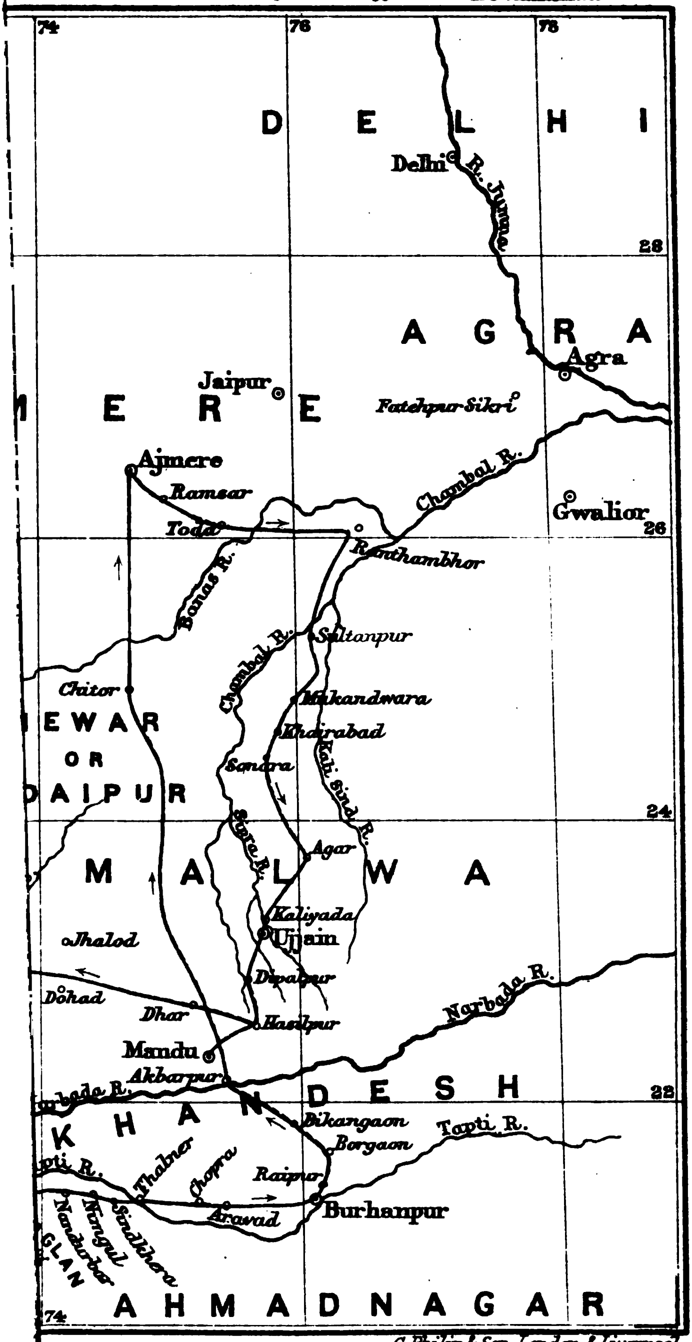
THOMAS ROE'S EMBASSY TO INDIA 1615-19

Scale, 1: 5,000,000. 0 50 100 Statute Miles



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